EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA DURING
ITS SESSION OF 1906-07

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

FOURTH YEAR OF ISSUE

ILLUSTRATED

TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
1907

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Mr. J. P. Murray.

President of the Empire Club, 1906-7.

Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.

President of the Empire Club, 1907-8.

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INTRODUCTION

The events of the year in connection with the Empire Club of Canada are largely indicated in the contents of this volume—the fourth in the series of *Empire Club Speeches*. Mr. J. P. Murray, the President for the Season, 1906-7, occupied the chair at all meetings except upon two occasions when Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C., 2nd Vice-President, took his place. The membership remained at the 500 figure and the average attendance at the 29 luncheons was 70, as compared with 69 at the 25 meetings of 1905-6; 85 at the 19 meetings of 1904-5, and 106 at the 21 meetings of 1903-4.

The Resolutions passed by the Club were very few. On November 5th, 1906, Mr. H. C. Osborne was especially thanked for a generous contribution of $100 toward the funds of the organization. On October 11, the Government of Manitoba was congratulated upon its policy of promoting the flying of the Empire flag over the schools of that Province; other Provinces were urged to take similar action; and the improper use of the flag at auctions and sales was strongly deprecated. Upon motion of Dr. E. Herbert Adams, and Mr. D. J. Goggin, LL.D., on January 17, 1907, the Governor of Jamaica and Mayor of Kingston were cabled an expression of deep sympathy with their people in the terrible calamity of earthquake and fire which had come to them. A notice of motion, presented by Mr. Castell Hopkins, on January 10th, and intended as an endorsation of the policy of Sir Alexander Swettenham in his controversy with United States Admiral Davis, was not pressed owing to the contradictory and unreliable character of the information available at that time. A motion, presented by Mr. W. A. Sherwood, was passed on February 21st, and urged the Governments concerned to restore the original Indian names, as far as practicable, to Canadian rivers, lakes and territories. At the annual meeting, in the St.

Charles Hotel, on May 9th, the following officers were elected:

President - - - -	J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1st Vice-President - -	D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - -	Elias Clouse, M.D.
3rd Vice-President - -	James R. Roaf.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

E. M. Chadwick.
J. M. Clark, K.C.
F. B. Featherstonhaugh.
J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.
Rev. Dr. T. C. S. Macklem.
G. Harold Muntz.
Dr. W. H. Pepler.
Dr. E. K. Richardson.
W. A. Sherwood, A.R.C.A.

To those of a statistical mind it may be interesting to say that in the season 1903-4 all the 23 speakers before the Club were Canadians, and the subjects might be roughly classed as 13 of an Imperial nature, 8 of a purely Canadian character, and 2 relating to foreign countries. In 1904-5 there were 4 British or Colonial speakers, apart from Canada, 23 Canadians, and one United States citizen. The subjects included 10 of an Imperial nature, 10 of a Canadian character, and 3 dealing with foreign countries. In 1905-6 there were 3 British and Colonial speakers, 22 Canadians, and 2 "Americans." The present volume includes 12 British and Colonial speakers, 35 Canadians, and 2 from the United States, and the subjects are 16 dealing with various phases of Imperialism, 10 treating of Canadian affairs, and 4 touching upon foreign affairs or relations.

THE EDITOR.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shal hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special ; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hunderd, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee."

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

LUNCHEON TO BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

Addresses by Sir Thomas Barlow, Bart., K.C.V.O., M.D., LL.D.; Sir W. H. Broadbent, Bart., K.C.V.O., F.R.S.; Dr. George Cooper Franklin, retiring President of the Association, and Professor C. S. Sherrington, M.D., LL.D., D.SC., F.R.S.; at the Empire Club Luncheon, R.C.Y.C., August 23rd, 1906.

The Luncheon was held in the banqueting hall of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, and was attended by about two hundred gentlemen. The President of the Empire Club, Mr. James P. Murray, was in the chair. The keynote of the occasion was "Canada and a United Empire," and when, after the company had enjoyed the repast, the Chairman proposed the health of His Majesty King Edward VII., a most loyal and hearty response was given. Letters of regret at being unable to attend were sent by Lieutenant-Governor Mortimer Clark, by representatives of the Legislature and by Mayor Coatsworth.

Mr. W. K. George proposed the health of the guests. He stated that no hospitality could mark the visit of the British Medical Association to compare in any way with the reception accorded to that part of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which had the honour of being in the Old Land last year. He was a great believer in the effectiveness of such inter-imperial visits to strengthen the binding ties of kinship. "We know," said Mr. George, "that Canada has within her confines every element necessary to the making of a mighty nation, and we feel honoured at the presence of men who stand in the very forefront of their profession, whose names are known throughout the length and breadth of civilization, and who have placed all mankind under a debt of gratitude."

Sir William Broadbent was very heartily received. The occasion appealed to him, he said, as being entitled to more than mere after-luncheon conventionalities. One could only feel and talk of his own personal impressions when coming to a more intimate knowledge of the unbounded resources of a country such as Canada, and his first impression was one of profound solemnity. "We hope and trust," said he, "that the connection between Canada and the Mother Country will continue, that it will become closer and stronger. Imperialist as I am, I prefer the term 'Mother Country' to that of 'Empire,' and it is this relation which one seeks to see continued. With her great agricultural wealth and her mineral resources of every kind, the future of Canada is sure. Canada is bound to go on and prosper, and what we hope is that the Mother Country, in its old age, will continue to have the support of her strongest son. There are people who complain that Canada does not do its part in the common defence, but, personally, I think that the money of Canada can at present be better employed in developing the country. I think that is the better son who devotes himself to his father's business than the one who presents him with a gold watch which he does not want. Whether we recognize it or not, we are making history, and our legislators derive their inspiration from the people about them, but neither legislators nor we can foretell the effects of politics or of those elements and events which contribute to national destiny. The only thing to do is to take as our guide the sense of duty. If we do what we believe to be right, we are doing what will ultimately be best for our great Empire."

Sir Thomas Barlow was greeted enthusiastically. He joined with his friend and chief, Sir William Broadbent, in expressing appreciation of the reception and of the manifestation by which was enthusiastically shown the desire to maintain the integrity of the Empire. He did not propose to talk politics, for though doctors had many rôles to play, the one which they played least well was that of politics. He preferred rather to speak of the young Canadian medical men, who, during the last quarter of a century, had been going to the Old Country, and whom he had found it a pleasure to meet. The English people, it was well known, were conservative, and when a volatile person appeared in their midst looking for the latest tips in the medical sciences, paying no great regard to serious phases, the more conservative were not aroused to any unusual concern. " But about the time I mention," said Sir Thomas Barlow, " we began to find among the young men who came to our clinics a different person—a quiet, reticent young man who listened to what was said and who humbly set himself to the study of cases as they were placed before him, presently showing that he did know a great deal more than he had ever stated. He showed himself to be of the same flesh and blood as we were, in the way he was taught, the way he took up new ideas and by the patience and tenacity with which he applied himself to his work. When we came to enquire of these young men we found they were mostly from McGill and Toronto." Sir Thomas added that one of the greatest pleasures of his present visit to Canada was the renewal of friendships with many of these young men who were now occupying proud positions in their native land.

" We have asked ourselves at various times," said he, " What can we do for our kith and kin in our own land, and these young men who have joined us in careful and quiet study have told us that they got what they wanted, having had free access to all that we had, and taken their places in examinations along with our own students. I am telling the honest truth when I say that, with the fullest desire to make things easy, we have come to the conclusion that we can do no better than to let them have fair play along with our fellow citizens, and trust to the rest. There are many links that bind Canada to the Mother Country, but I think there is one link not to be despised—the link uniting medical men upon the two sides of the water."

Dr. George Cooper Franklin, former President of the Association, in a brief speech expressed his enjoyment of the cordial hospitality in which he had been invited to participate in his official capacity as an ex-President. Referring to the great extent of the Association, he stated that it had 70 branches, 20,000 members, and between $40,000 and $50,000 yearly income. It was very important that men at the head of such an organization should be men of broad and liberal views, and in this connection he congratulated them upon having Dr. R. A. Reeve as their new President. Dr. Franklin said that he felt himself quite overwhelmed by the warmth of the reception in Toronto, and it was with keen pleasure that he found himself enjoying the hospitality of his old friend and associate, Dr. Jukes Johnson. "We are anxious," concluded Dr. Franklin, "that the cordiality and friendship existing between Canada and the Mother Country may ever be maintained, and, in the words of the poet Longfellow: 'We are not to look back regretfully on the past, which comes not again, but to wisely improve the present, in order that we may go forth to the shadowy future without fear and with a manly heart.'"

Prof. C. S. Sherrington, of Liverpool, stated that he saw many changes and much to learn on this his second visit to Toronto, and he was more impressed than ever by those evidences which assured him that Canada was indeed an enormous potentiality. Referring to University development in England, he stated that no less than four new Universities had been founded during the last ten years, and an important feature, known as fellowships, had been introduced as the result of financial support given by wealthy citizens. These fellowships were available, not so much to students as to those who, having passed the University, desired to further pursue some subject as a specialty or by way of further development. "It would, in my opinion," said the speaker, "be a grand opportunity to some of our students if they could come over to Toronto or some other seat of learning in Canada, and pass a year or two years. I imagine you would find many of them starting careers here. There are opportunities possessed by your Universities which ours have not, such as the extensive study of water power, or hydro-dynamics. University reciprocity, I feel, is in the air, and will have as its much-to-be-desired result, an interchange, not of goods, but of intellect and experience."

The Chairman expressed, on behalf of the Empire Club, appreciation of the kindness of the R. C. Y. C. in contributing in so great measure to the entertainment of the distinguished guests of the Empire Club.

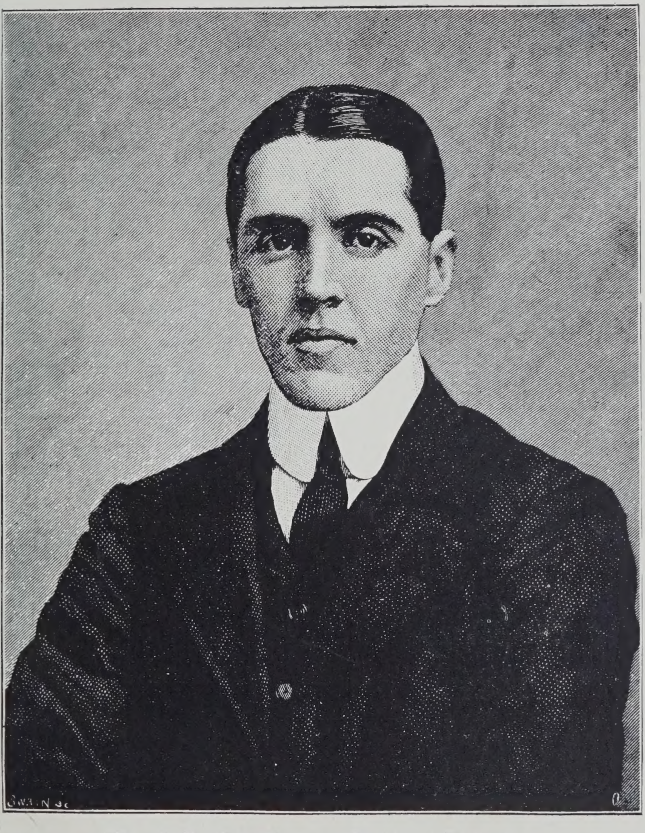
Dr. A. A. Macdonald, Commodore of the Yacht Club, responded, saying that they considered no thanks necessary since they had regarded the opportunity to extend hospitality as a pleasure and a privilege. The National Anthem brought the affair to a close.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S POLICY AND ITS PROSPECTS.

Addresses by Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P.; the Hon. Henry Lygon; Mr. Norman Chamberlain, and Mr. John Murray; before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 4th, 1906.

Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P.—Gentlemen: I assure you that I speak without any affectation at all when I say that I welcome, as do my friends, the opportunity which your Club has given to us on the occasion of our first visit to Canada, far more than I can possibly explain to you in any words that are at my disposal. It has been my dream, as long as I have taken any interest in politics, and that has been ever since I was a very much younger man than I am now, to visit Canada and the rest of the British Empire. I remember well when I was a very small child indeed, my father giving me Dilke's book, *Greater Britain,* to read, and I remember making up my mind that as soon as I was able to do so, I would follow in the same journey which he had travelled, and I would make observations for myself of the various parts of that Empire of which we in the Old Country are so fond of speaking in our political speeches.

I am not here to-day to address you either as a Conservative or as a Liberal in English politics, and I am not here to address you either as Conservatives or Liberals in Canadian politics. You have your internal differences in politics, and we have our internal differences, and I am not here to-day, and I know you would not wish it, to attempt to gain any party advantage in respect of differences which do not concern you when you are dealing with a subject so immensely important to all parties as the Empire, which has given its name to your Club. I would not have you think that I might attempt to gain a party advantage by implying that those who are



Mr. F. E. Smith, m.p., Walton, England.

opposed to us in the domestic policy of our own country are indifferent to the greatness of this Empire, or that their hearts do not pulsate with pride at the success and welfare of Canada. I do not come here as a Conservative politician to try and persuade you that it is with the Conservative party in England alone that you would find those aspirations respecting tariff reform. It is true, gentlemen, that my view is that the great historic party with which I have the honour of acting in England is better prepared at the moment to carry out the policy which is your object and my object, and the object of everyone; I do not attempt to conceal from you that in my humble judgment the policy of Tariff Reform, which will always be associated with the name of the distinguished uncle of my young friend, Mr. Chamberlain, the name of the greatest English statesman since Chatham; I say, gentlemen, I do not conceal from you that in my judgment it is upon those lines that true Imperial consolidation will be found ultimately to rest.

I am a little apprehensive that some of you who are not as familiar as we are in England with the causes which explain the ebbs and flows of political success, may have been greatly discouraged in the results of the election which has recently taken place in England. I do not know, gentlemen, whether you have been told here (I know that you have had visitors who do not belong to my party who have been visiting your country)—I do not know whether you have been told, as we have been told in England, that the English people have pronounced once for all, quite decisively, upon the issue of Tariff Reform. I do not know whether the word "mandate" is as much abused in your politics as in mine. I have heard on the floor of the House of Commons a mandate claimed for one subject after another. If you ask a man whether he is a freetrader, whether he is in favour of Chinese slavery, whether he wants his children to have a secular education and whether he wants to marry his deceased wife's sister; I say, if you put all these questions to a single man and ask him to answer yes or no, you may get something which will place a political party in power, but, believe me, you will never get an answer which will dispose once for all of a profound economic difficulty.

Those are some of the difficulties which we had to contend with, and I would ask you to remember that there was a greater one and that there is an explanation which goes deeper still into our failure of a few months ago. Gentlemen, we were attacking in England for the first time a dogma which we had sucked in with our mother's milk. There may be different schools of economy; I know that for years in Germany and other countries, great economists have advanced scientific arguments in favour of that economic creed which is ours to-day. Gentlemen, we never had that in England; there never were two sides to the question, or if there were two sides, they were never advanced. We never taught that. If you went to an English University, you heard from the professor the doctrines of free trade and the doctrines of Adam Smith explained without qualification, given to you as the dry bones and parchment of a subject quite divorced from human nature and from the vicissitudes of political affairs; and it is true to say that only the rank and file of our voters who, from the necessity of the case, must be less experienced than their leaders, that the men who by their origin and by their education would naturally have been the leaders of political thought; that not even they ever had the arguments of the economist, political and social, in favour of the reform of the tariff put before them until put before them by Mr. Chamberlain a year or two years ago.

Gentlemen, has no progress been made since then? I said you have challenged a fetish which has been accepted without question and without qualification by England for forty years. You have challenged it, and with what result? At an election, which would have been, without free trade, the most disastrous to the Conservative party which has been fought since the Reform Bill, with everything against us, we polled for the first time that we challenged the abstract dogma of free trade, forty per cent of the total electors of the country in favour of Tariff Reform. Is it nothing, gentlemen, is it not a circumstance which may encourage you on this side of the water in your efforts, that a great party has, for the first time since the days of Disraeli, openly professed and now constantly attempts to practise the creed which it is your wish and our wish to see cemented between the different parts of the Empire? I wonder whether, divorced as you must be from the more domestic side of our politics, you appreciate the significance of the letter which Mr. Balfour wrote recently to Mr. Chamberlain. Let me explain to you what the significance of that letter was. Mr. Balfour said that if he became convinced, when the practical difficulties were faced in detail, that it was not possible to establish Tariff Reform and Imperial preference with the Empire except on the basis of food tariff, he would assent to the taxation of food, because he was satisfied that the immense importance of the object justified the waiving of the objections which he entertained. It means that we in England, as far as Tariff Reform is concerned, mean business; it means that we in England within the four walls of the Conservative party, since that letter was written, are able to go to a recalcitrant or timid member who will not fall into line with the policy which has been deliberately adopted by the party and say, "You are no longer a loyal member of the Conservative party, because you refuse to follow the line of concentration which Mr. Balfour, the Leader of our party, has cemented with Mr. Chamberlain." That means progress. It means that when the vicissitudes of our parties introduce, and they will introduce, a change in the Government, as surely as the night will follow the day; I say that when vicissitudes come you have a powerful and united and constructive party who have once for all embraced the creed which is yours and which is mine.

There is one circumstance which to me at least is infinitely more encouraging. Those who are strongest in favour of the policy of Tariff Reform in England are not the rich, who, we are told by our opponents, are going to profit most by it. My experience, and I think no man has spoken in more constituencies in England, my invariable experience has been this, that the men who most warmly appreciate and who most intelligently follow the details of the question are those very working men who are told they are going to be deprived of their daily bread. Gentlemen, if any of you should have the opportunity, attend the meetings which are held by organizers of the Conservative party all over the country, I mean the National Association of Conservative Districts, and you will find dealing with the agents men whose fingers are on the pulse of the items which constitute the political party. You will find in these men that there is no half-way house, and that there is no doubt as to the road along which they are travelling, and there is no doubt that they will carry that policy to ultimate success. I have heard Canadians, whose conversation it has been an honour and a privilege to listen to, who are not altogether in agreement with the views which most of us hold upon Tariff Reform, and they have advanced arguments with which I am very familiar in England. They say, " You have a bond of union between Canada and the home country, which is based four-square upon those ties, which are infinitely more valuable than any commercial ties, because they spring from a common history in lineage and in memories. Should you attempt to break those ties, so sacred and intangible, you attempt to materialize and degrade them by ties of commerce. I yield to no man in the devotion and appreciation which I entertain for that sentiment of loyalty and affection which Canada feels for the home country, which I assure you the home country feels for Canada. While I yield to no one in my appreciation of the warmth and of the loyalty of that sentiment, I tell you, gentlemen, candidly, as a business man, I reject *in toto* the suggestion that because men are well disposed toward one another, because they are even members of the same family, because they feel strong ties of affection, a wise and prudent statesman will neglect to cement those bonds already in existence by the ties, constantly growing closer, of interest which is material interest and which may stand side by side with those higher considerations of which I have spoken. That is the view which many of us have taken in England, when we are told that there is a sentimental side, and I cannot help feeling that this will appeal to you who know this country so much better than I do. While the volume of immigration into Canada grows year by year, it is not stating the proposition too strongly when I say that a very considerable proportion of that immigration comes from sources other than British sources. It is inevitable in that event that you will get into Canada, and you will mould into Canadian citizens, men who have no historical predilection for the British Empire. If I come from under the Stars and Stripes, if I have been a Scandinavian, I should not come to Canada, and find springing up in my heart a sentiment of affection for the Empire; but if you are able to say to a man who says, "They talk to me of England; England is nothing to me, it is not my country"; if you are able to say to a man like that, "Put sentiment to one side and see what England has done in tariff preferences besides affording us in the last resort the resources of her Army and Navy."

I have said enough, perhaps, to show you, and I rejoice to say that there are many young men in the party who have once for all made up their minds as to the policy we desire to see adopted as our national policy in dealing with our Colonies. It is a young man's issue, because I do not conceal from myself or from you that there are many trenches to be stormed yet. There is many a hard contested yard to be fought. I can only tell you, speaking in a humble way, we have put on our armour for this fight. We are not going to take it off till the fight is won. We look forward to a victory which will be all the more deeply prized because every yard of the ground has been so hardly won. We look forward, gentlemen, with your help, and with your missionary enterprise here in Canada, to an age in which it will be hardly necessary for Empire Clubs to exist, because everyone will be an Imperialist, holding the views which are held by your Club and by similar institutions in England to-day; and looking back stage by stage on the history of that marvellous world of progress, which in spite of errors and accidents, has appeared to be guided, as it were, by some Providential purpose overruling the errors and shortcomings of men, that superb future which appears to await the Empire; looking at that broad historical panorama in due chronological perspective, we see that our difficulties are small indeed in comparison with those which the pioneers of this Empire have had to encounter. Shall we not then attach some belief to the marvellous destiny which has always seemed to direct things right in spite of the occasional errors of our statesmen?

The Hon. Henry Lygon: I confess that, after listening to the speech which you and I have heard from the lips of Mr. Smith, it seems to me almost a pity that any other member of our party should get up for the purpose of spoiling the effect. I do not relish the position of anticlimax, and I will, therefore, endeavour to occupy that position for as short a period as possible. There fell from the lips of Mr. Smith a remark concerning the relations of the two great parties in England to the Colonies, and concerning their attitude toward the Imperial issues, to which I will endeavour, if you will allow me, to add something. I heard reproach levelled against the party to which Mr. Smith and I belong in England, when we showed too great a tendency to try and identify ourselves and our party too exclusively with Imperial aspirations. I have been told that it is a sin on the part of the Conservative party that they try to arrogate to themselves all Imperial sentiments. I do not wish for a moment to arrogate to the Conservative party all the credit for Imperial sentiment in England, because I believe and I know that at the bottom of his heart practically every thinking Englishman wishes today to be a fellow-citizen with his Colonial fellow-citizens of this great Empire. At the same time England and the British Empire are governed on the party system. As long as that fact remains, it is chiefly through the medium of one party or the other that great issues can be brought to a conclusion. If a proposal is made, and it is wished to carry that proposal into effect, ninety-nine times out of a hundred the best possible chance for the carrying out of that proposal lies in its being taken up by one of the two great parties in the state. Therefore, although every thinking Englishman at the bottom of his heart is a true Imperialist, Liberal as well as Conservative, all the same I cannot regret that one party should more conspicuously than the other have devoted itself to thinking out a means for the commonly desired end. I cannot regret, I rejoice, that the party which should have undertaken this is the party in which I was born and in which I hope to die, and I can only say, again, I most certainly think it is a good thing for the prospects of our great cause that it should have been adopted by one party or the other, that it should have been made a party question. That is the justification of Englishmen in having allowed the question of Tariff Reform to be a party question. I cannot help thinking that it is by far the surest way of carrying out the cause which you and I have at heart.

Now, gentlemen, I cannot, as with Mr. Smith here, claim to represent the Conservative party, because we look to Mr. Smith as the rising member of that party. If I can speak for anybody but myself, I think I may perhaps claim to speak for a very large section of opinion in the University of Oxford. I have been in Oxford four years. To my very great regret I have just ceased to be a student. For four years I have taken a part in our small politics in Oxford. Believe me, gentlemen, during those four years, under my own eyes, I have seen growing up with remarkable speed and intensity an increasing feeling of affection for the British Empire, and an increasing feeling of determination on the part of many of the young men at Oxford that when they leave Oxford, and when it falls to their lot to take a share in the government of the country they will first familiarize themselves with the British Empire, and they will then devote the best of their energies to those Imperial issues which, as I said, are at the bottom of the heart of every Englishman. There is a growing feeling at Oxford, if not at Cambridge (I cannot speak for Cambridge) ; even these last four years I have seen this feeling growing up. It has been stimulated by Mr. Chamberlain, who brought the latent feeling to a head. We look to Mr. Chamberlain as our leader, and many of us are determined to carry on the torch which one day he must hand down to his successors. Toronto has been the first town in Canada which I have visited. I shall never forget the kindness which I have received at the hands of every man whom I have met in this town. It is my first experience in this Colony of the British Empire. As far as I can arrange matters it certainly shall not be my last. I cannot believe that I could have greater kindness than I have received in Toronto. I am speaking from my heart, and I know now that wherever I go in Canada I may expect to receive kindness which has surpassed all our expectations, and as it comes in some measure as a surprise, I appreciate it all the more for that reason."

Mr. Norman Chamberlain: I feel at home here, and I may say I have always looked upon Canada with a longing to go there and know all about it. My grandfather was a member here many years ago, and I think I am almost prouder of being his grandson than of being Mr. Chamberlain's nephew. I have very little to say, but I do wish to say that before I came out here I saw my uncle, and he told me that the support that he valued more than any other was the support of the Canadian Dominion. No one believes in it more than he. You have all seen accounts in the papers, most disastrous accounts, of his health. Those reports appeared in many papers here and in the United States during the past summer. I can say, authoritatively, and I know perfectly well, that they are not true. We all know the strain and emotions that Mr. Chamberlain went through in Birmingham, which moved more than anything else could have moved him, and this strain was a little too much for him. He was very busy at the time, and he had also a bad attack of gout, not very romantic, I admit, but it was an unusually bad one, and therefore he has been kept to his room. He has not been allowed to do anything, and has been made to take an absolute rest, which I hope will continue for two or three months more.

Gentlemen, I think you know him well enough to know that he will work until his last breath in the cause he has taken up. He has not taken it up as a part of his policy, but as his policy alone, and it is hard to imagine in England a man more one-minded. I hope that you will always remember that, and I may end up with this, that when Mr. Chamberlain dies, as I am afraid he must in time, Tariff Reform is not going to die with him. Too many of our friends in England and too many of our newspapers seem to hint that if he goes, Tariff Reform will go, too. But, as Mr. Smith has said, it will not go under. Absolutely nothing can stop it now. I hope you will give us your support, and let them in the Old Country know that you are giving your support, and never be tired of speaking of it, because the English politician must have things dinned into his ears for centuries before he will understand.

Mr. John Murray: Gentlemen, after what the able speakers have said I can only repeat, and that in a very inferior way, the noble sentiments and sound sense which they have expressed. I should like to say one or two words. Since I came out here I have learned to a much larger extent the definition of two words. The first of them is "proportion"—to come out to this Dominion and realize the magnificent size that, until one came here, it was impossible to realize, has made my mind and views increase in the same proportion as I see the City of Toronto increasing. There are far too many Imperialists at home who frequently speak of the Empire who have never truly realized it. If only they could come out here for a short time and experience the irresistible attraction of this (I cannot find words to express it) glorious Dominion, there would be a great deal more and truer Imperial feeling than there is at present, and that is saying a great deal. And, gentlemen, the other definition I learned is "kindness." Without any very special claim, excepting that we are fellow-members of this great Empire, we have come out here, and we have been treated with such kindness as I thought could not exist. Mr. Chamberlain told you about feeling at home. He is not alone in that; we have all been made to feel at home, and wherever in the Empire we may go, I trust we may always feel at home.

THE FLYING OF FLAGS IN CANADA.

Addresses by President J. P. Murray, Mr. E. M. Chadwick, Mr. J. R. Roaf, Mr. H. C. Osborne, and Lieut.-Col. J. Mason, at the Empire Club Luncheon, on October 11th, 1906.

Mr. J. P. Murray, President: I heard a criticism the other day that Premier Roblin's suggestion of having the flag flown on the school-houses of Manitoba during school-hours was going to make the flag so common with the children that it was a mistake. I think that criticism is wrong, for the reason that in the Army and Navy, I understand, the colours are brought out every morning and treated with that respect which we are glad to see. Another point; if we were to say that simple association is going to mean disrespect, it would not say very much for the inculcation in the children of respect for parents, teachers, and others whom they see every day. One of the reasons why we think the question of the use of flags in Canada would be a good subject is that very recently there have been some occasions for criticism upon the flying of foreign flags here. The recent hoisting of the United States flag over the City Hall in Winnipeg and its use in Montreal on the same day, and the substitution of the United States emblem for that of the Empire at our own Exhibition are occasions, which we regret and deprecate. The following is the Resolution which is to be discussed at our meeting:

> The members of the Empire Club of Canada desire to take this first opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the proposed legislation of Mr. Premier Roblin and the Government of Manitoba, to encourage the flying of the Union Jack over the school buildings of that Province during school hours.
>
> We would further express the hope that Mr. Premier Whitney and the Government of Ontario will consider whether some action along similar lines could not be adopted in this Province, as being

conducive to inculcating and promoting patriotism amongst our school children.

In view, also, of the meeting of Provincial Premiers at Ottawa, we would take the liberty of suggesting for their consideration, the desirability of united action in this respect.

It is further hoped that every Canadian will resent the wrongful use of the National Emblem in connection with commercial and trade enterprises, by refusing to patronize the article or object so advertised.

It would appear to the members of this Club in this general connection, that the time has come for organized efforts to be taken, not only in encouraging the flying of our own flag, but in severely deprecating the use of foreign emblems, except upon special occasions, when they may be used in a friendly international way, with the Union Jack in the place of honour ; and we further express the hope that individuals as well as organizations throughout Canada, will discourage the too free use of any foreign flag. Finally, that when national standards should be used, the flags of our Empire, being educative and decorative, offer all that ought to be desired for all occasions that are not international, and their generous use will promote, more and more, a sturdy patriotism and dignified independence amongst our own people.

Mr. E. M. Chadwick: Regarding the Resolution which has been read, I would like to speak more particularly with reference to foreign flags being flown on International occasions. I think it will be well to interline there, " on proper authority and in proper manner," because a great deal depends on that. In the first place, the use of the foreign flag is, as a matter of fact, contrary to law, and in ancient times the displaying of a foreign flag by anybody in England would lead to very serious consequences. In these days, however, it is not customary in the British Empire to take much notice of such high treason, excepting when it leads to the endangering of people's lives and destruction of property. The flying of the foreign flag, besides being contrary to law, is, I think you will all agree, except on certain occasions, contrary to good taste. The Resolution proposes to allow that there are such occasions. One of these is inside of four walls, and no objection can in such case be taken, provided the spirit of the Resolution is observed in other respects; that is, the flag of the country should be in proper prominence. But out of doors, on land, and at sea, and that includes our Great Lakes, the rule as to the use of flags is one that is strictly enforced by the Admiralty, who are the proper people to take such duties in charge.

On the Lakes, nobody seems to trouble much about it, but the same law is in force on the Lakes as on the broad seas, and there are many of our steamers here which could be hauled up almost any day and fined one-hundred pounds sterling for displaying the foreign flag. Our Canadian ensign, which we use so prominently, is really a sea flag, the flag which Canadian vessels are allowed to carry. Every part of the British Empire has its own particular flag with the badge of the Colony. We use the arms of Canada. The use of that flag is for coasting vessels only, with this one exception, that Canadian vessels are allowed to carry the Canadian flag on the broad seas. The flag which we use is not a land flag. The Irish flag, however, which is green, with the Union Jack in the corner, and the golden harp and crown, is a land flag.

These flags, of which there are perhaps nearly twenty, can be used by all British subjects excepting the Royal Standard. The proper flag to be used by a private person is the Union Jack. A couple of years ago a request was made through his Secretary to the King to lay down a rule for the use of flags, specifying what flags private persons could use. The King declined to give any ruling, but the Secretary stated that the Union Jack was the proper flag to fly. It is the land flag, and every person is at liberty to use it in British territory. Regarding the use of foreign flags, there is one thing I would like to say, because it is not generally understood, and that is, apart altogether from the illegality or impropriety of the use of foreign flags without proper authority and under proper circumstances, when a foreign flag is used it should never be put on the same staff with the British flag; that is, in the etiquette of flags. On the occasion of a meeting of the King of England and the Emperor of Germany in their ships, both flags were flown together on the same mast, but occupying the same position, which is the only occasion I know of in which such an arrangement of flags is used. Where a foreign flag is used, as I said, under proper authority and on proper occasions, it should not be on the same staff with the British flag.

Mr. J. R. Roaf: Mr. Chadwick has given us the legal aspect, which it is proper for us all to know. I think that the Resolution goes further. The point we want to take is as to the general use and encouragement of our flag in this country. Some years ago I was at the opening of the Court at Port Arthur. The Sheriff asked me to fall into procession with the lawyers and Judges, to make the occasion as impressive as possible, so that the people would learn something of what was meant. Do we not want that spirit to be instilled into our children?—that it is not only the majesty of the law, but the sovereignty of our flag that we want them to learn. Our flag can convey a two-fold meaning; we have the Imperial meaning and we have our national meaning. We fly our Canadian ensign; the Imperial part of it is the Jack in the corner, but the badge in the fly is our particular part of it, our national part, and we want our children to understand the significance in both these respects. We recognize that we are old enough to know our own position, that we are not like a new empire, be it an empire or a republic, that has been started within 150 or 200 years. We do not have to consider it necessary to read the Confederation Act every 1st of July. Our people know their liberties and act upon them, but when we have such an outcry right alongside of us do we not want to have our children learn something of the solidity of our flag? It would be well if we could have our flag over every school-house, and every school-child be educated up to the importance of that flag and what it represents to him. In this democracy of ours, the people control the country; the flag is their embodiment and they ought to have that respect for the flag which every honest citizen feels. I would have no objection to using other flags for decorative purposes—let them all be there—but we must take care that in every case we have, as Mr.

Chadwick says, the flag of our Empire occupying the place of honour.

Mr. H. C. Osborne: I am very glad to participate in the discussion, though I must confess I am not very well versed in the law touching the use of national flags. I am very much interested in the instructive remarks made by Mr. Chadwick, and I should like to say, as my small contribution to this discussion, that any Resolution which is passed at this meeting and which goes forth as the utterance of the Club, should be couched in terms of great moderation, because this is one of a number of things which touches very nearly the national self-respect. We all know that when a poor individual or a nation is surrounded by strong, rich neighbours, one is apt to be a little defiant and sometimes peevish, and Canada for so many years occupied the position of the poor relation that it was rapidly becoming a little bit defiant and peevish towards other people, and more particularly towards our rich and powerful neighbours. This is a very far-reaching fact, because it is a most deplorable condition in the United States. It is very difficult to fly a British flag of any kind there excepting on very extraordinary occasions and within very clearly defined limits.

Now, for my part, I shall consider that there are times and occasions when it is quite proper that foreign flags should be flown. We all know that when an American yacht, for example, visits our harbour, all the boats in the fleet fly the American flag at the bow, and this is a graceful compliment which we can well afford to pay to our visitors who come here to participate in our sports from time to time. On the other hand, you all know equally well (if you pass the months of July and August in England) that London is over-run with trippers, and all the shops are flying the American flag because they think it is a compliment to visitors and will draw custom. No one has any objection to it. As far as Canada is concerned, I shall be very sorry to see us fall into the position which is taken so widely in the United States, where every time a Union Jack is flown it evokes pronounced hostility. On proper occasions and under proper safeguards and with regard to the rules of etiquette governing such things I think we should have no objection to a foreign flag being flown here.

Further than that, another result of this condition which prevails in the United States is that the national flag is flown on far too many occasions; I am very much opposed to flag waving; I have too much respect for it to see it waved on every possible occasion, and certainly it is positively repulsive to me to see the national flag used to advertise an auction sale. As far as Canada is concerned, I think we should do well to advocate, by every means in our power, the general use of our Union Jack on all proper occasions and to deprecate the use of the Union Jack on improper and unnecessary occasions. When it is desired to fly, as a compliment to visitors, the flag of a foreign country, then I most heartily say that the Union Jack should never be displaced from its position of honour. We all remember a keen discussion which took place over an incident at the Toronto Exhibition. The principal cause of complaint was that on that occasion, being American Day, the Union Jack was taken from the post of honour and the Stars and Stripes was flown thereon. This I think is distinctly wrong and ought not to be countenanced by us, and I think the Empire Club should carry on a campaign of education along these lines.

As far as Ontario is concerned, I should like to pay my tribute to the Daughters of the Empire. They have made it their business to ascertain whether every public school in the Province has or has not a Union Jack, and if it had not they presented one to the school. One cannot very easily over-estimate the value of the flying of the Union Jack on public holidays, and upon national days, and upon every proper occasion, over school-buildings, where the young boys and girls who are there have an opportunity of seeing their flag and learning what it really means to them. There are too many small villages where one rarely sees the Union Jack, and I think it proper that we should do something to further the flying of the Union Jack over all the school-buildings in the Province of Ontario, and in fact in the Dominion of Canada. I think that we should not fall into the error of flag waving or of issuing any pronunciamento or any resolution which would be deemed unreasonable or extreme. We want to do just sufficient to encourage the respect of our own flag, to encourage flying our flag on proper occasions, and at the same time there should be a necessary corollary that we have no objection to the flying of foreign flags on proper occasions and under proper safeguards.

Lieut.-Colonel James Mason spoke briefly on the importance of inculcating in the minds of the young a respect for the flag, and stated that he hoped that Hon. Mr. Whitney would take the hint from Manitoba and that the idea would be carried into effect in all the Provinces.

The President: I am very sorry we have not the pleasure of hearing Inspector Hughes, who would tell you that there are probably more Union Jacks in the schools of Toronto than in the schools of Great Britain; that there is a great deal of good work being done in Toronto in educating children as to the history of the Union Jack and what it means. Now I should like to know what your views are in reference to this Resolution. If it shall be accepted by the Club with Mr. Chadwick's addition, that is, that " the flying of foreign flags should be only on proper authority and on permission being given." The motion passed unanimously.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRY AND LABOUR.

Address by Mr. James A. Emery, Secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, New York, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 25th, 1906. Discussed by Hon. George E. Foster, M.P.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I appreciate indeed the second invitation to Toronto, above all, one that comes from an organization so truly representative of the Imperial spirit of Canada. When one looks over the names of those who have addressed you in your career as an organization, he realizes the part which they have played in the industrial and political and social life of Canada; he feels not only complimented, but a considerable amount of diffidence in following such illustrious footsteps. Indeed a diffidence that it would be somewhat difficult to overcome were I not so sensible of the indulgence with which I have been previously treated that I may assure myself of its recurrence.

One is usually accused, in discussing industrial problems, of immediate desire to dip into political economy. I do not question for a moment the intimate relationship between some departments of political economy and some of our very greatest industrial problems, but I do indeed desire to assure you that I have always felt that our greatest problems were not those that were to be decided from the mere standpoint of industrial science; but that it took for their decision an understanding of the realization, a convincing and imperative belief, that they were problems in which the futures of human beings were concerned, in which the principles of great states were at issue, from the just decision of which the civilization of our world would receive an impetus or a setback; and I should not desire

MR. JAMES A. EMERY.

Secretary Citizens' Industrial Association, New York.

to discuss our problems from the mere dry standpoint of the political economist.

Indeed, I may perhaps seem diffident about shaping my discussion along such lines when I recall a conversation which is supposed to have happened upon the campus of the University of California during a lecture of a noted political economist there, when two of the employees moving across the grounds, both Irishmen (the usual nationality of him upon whom all jokes are fastened), heard the drone of voices coming from the lecture room, and one said to the other, " What's going on there, Dan?"

" Why, that's the class in political economy."

" Political economy, is it?" " Yes." " And what is that?" " Sure don't you know what that is?" " Some form of saving money?" " No, no, man. It's a form of learning, sure—political economy; when a man who knows nothing on any subject talks to one who knows less than he does on something they both know nothing about." (Laughter.) Beginning the treatment of the human side of great industrial problems, the dryness, the closeness, the narrowness, the petty attempt to reduce to a mere material discussion problems that concern the future of human flesh and blood, perhaps justify a criticism almost equally harsh to that which our Irish friend administered; for we all recognize the existence of industrial problems greater or less.

They are things that are obtruded upon our everyday notice; they are not the things which we merely reach through the medium of the press, through discussions upon the platform, through the formulas of books; they are things that are at our door, upon our streets, before our eyes, our very daily life is immersed in some of the conditions which bring them about. The daily press announces a dozen of them in each of its editions, and brings to us some concrete instances of the differences between different classes, different sections, different parts of the English population, that calls our attention to the striking necessity for some action that will enable us to live our industrial life with less friction, with more thought for its component elements, with more consideration for the great struggles that take place within its limits, with some attempt to meet and solve some of the perplexing questions that daily present themselves to us as facts that cannot be avoided.

The chief of these, the relation between him who works and him for whom he works is not a problem of merely the present day. It is as old as man. Its very nature, its intimate relationship to human life, its intimate appeal to human passion, to excitement, to feeling, to affection, to hate, to all that makes up the wonderfully complex detail of human life makes that problem at once the most intimate and the most difficult which we face in the industrial world. The relations between him who works and him for whom he works are things that have troubled those individuals as they have troubled the rest of the world ever since men entered into relations with each other. From the first strike of the Hebrew bricklayers, related in Exodus, even to the present day, every nation has passed through its industrial difficulties. The adjustment of the relations between capital and labour troubled the Roman as much as they do the American, and when Minimus Agrippa met the Plebeians on the Sacred Mount outside of Rome, and related to them the story of the hands and the stomach as a means of persuading them to return again, he related, described, and illustrated a relationship as well as it has ever been described or paralleled from that day to this. You will remember that the Plebeians felt that they were bearing an undue share of the cost of Roman life; that they received less than their share of the productions of the Roman civilization, and bore far more than they should of the burden of the State; and Agrippa told them the story of the hands, the feet, the various organs of the body, rebelling against further service to the stomach, and declaring that one did the work, and the other assisted, and each bore its share. What did the stomach do? It merely received, and enjoyed the fruit of their labour; and he impressed upon them the fact that it was the stomach that supplied strength to all the organs and enabled each to do its share toward continuing the life of the human machine, and so impressed them with the importance of that relationship between all these complex parts of the wonderful whole that they went back into the city, and renewed again, in a practical way, their attempt to solve their relations with their masters.

In this age of ours we have attempted the solution of this question in a variety of ways. It is but natural that it should be most strongly marked by an organized effort to meet and solve these problems; by an organized insistence in every department of life; by efforts to meet our industrial problem; to carry out shares and portions of it; to put the labourer upon his side in an organized way to meet his share of it; to put the employer upon his side in an organized form to meet his problem as he sees it; and so we have had the rise in its most developed form of the labour organization. Originating in its present change in England, in the Guilds of the Middle Ages, having the same general purpose, but differing vastly in the special means by which it sought to accomplish that purpose; above all, differentiating itself in its progress and development from the greater purposes of the Guild and labour organizations; has also come down to us the effort of the labourer to accomplish by organization the protection of his hours and wages, and the improvement of his working conditions, and we have met in every department of human industry to-day the operation of the labour organization. It has developed certain fixed principles of action, certain fixed methods of accomplishment, and it tends toward the practical employment of certain results, and toward the acceptance of certain theories, and an endeavour to realize them in practical life.

England has had the longest experience with the Labour organization, and it has been watched there with the greatest interest. It has developed in America in a somewhat different way, patterned in its origin after the English Unions, but modified by the local conditions that necessarily tempered and shaped its existence. From an organization of a negative character, it has grown into an organization of the most positive character; from an association that first intended and attempted merely to prevent a reduction of wages and a change in working hours, it has grown into an organization to compel the acceptance of other hours, and a powerful lever for increasing wages. It has done more than that; it has become a beneficiary organization, protecting the lives, the widows, the families of its members; it has become a political organization that has attempted to shape and direct the political opinions and action of its members; it has become a powerful influence upon legislation, and has endeavoured to establish conditions that would be most pleasing to the workingman, and that would give to the wage-earner a special consideration before the law, by the passage and enforcement of special class legislation.

It has met the industrial leaders of our day in every department of their progress; it has met in all its relations the very largest forces that lead and control modern industrial development. It has learned by contact with them, methods of organization; it has learned by contact with them, means of effecting its ends; it has learned by contact with them, the manipulation of politics, and the best means of securing legislation. It has arrived at thousands of remarkable results; it has been a power for good; it has been a power for evil; sometimes in the very name of the things for which it sought it has accomplished the very things that it sought not to accomplish; sometimes in the endeavour to lift up those whom it would assist it has levelled and crushed down those who disagreed with it in opinion. It has been like all human attempts to better existing conditions, to reform that requiring reform, tempered with failures and with the success that mark all human effort. It has to be judged not merely by what it claims it is, not merely by what it asserts that it endeavours to accomplish, not merely by its ideals; but by the practical things that it endeavours to accomplish, and by the practical means by which it endeavours to accomplish them, and by the tendencies which it develops in the course of its motion.

Historically, it is a strange thing that organization in labour sought to accomplish the very thing that to-day it seeks to prevent. If you pass quickly through the history of the English wage-earner, you see him pass from the serf into the control of the Guilds, through the day of State control in industry, and then into free contract. You see him struggling under the Statute of Labourers, from conditions in which the paternal State endeavours to fix his hours of labour, and the very amount of his earnings; you see him pass from that into a day when, in the last hours of the French Revolution, there was celebrated with the tolling of bells and the roaring of cannon the repeal of the last acts that gave the State control of the Labour contract in France; and Labour emerged unshaken and untrammeled into the sunlight of free contract.

You have seen in our day the endeavour to prevent the working man from making an individually free contract, and to persuade him, to influence him, nay, at times to intimidate and coerce him into a collective contract in which he pools his labour with others. Historically, then, the struggle of the labourer in organization was not to arrive at a period in which he could with others sell his labour, but to secure a condition in which he would be untrammelled in the sale of his most intimate personal possession, the one thing which all men have—that with which they earn their living and that of those dependent upon them—their physical labour. And in the struggle to obtain that, he went through a thousand vicissitudes, he suffered upon numberless scaffolds, he was the victim of innumerable persecutions, he lifted himself from the stand of a conspirator to that of an individual recognized as one endeavouring to better himself and make himself a better subject for the King, a better citizen for the State. With all of his effort toward better things, with all his struggle to put himself into a position where he could help himself and help others, he has the sympathy of every reader of history.

But we, who look calmly, should endeavour to look dispassionately, should endeavour to judge without partiality, the value of modern trade unionism in its relation to the modern industrial world, judge it not merely by what it has accomplished, but by what to-day it endeavours to accomplish, by that which it deliberately declares it hopes to secure, and by the things by which it endeavours to attain those ends. We have no quarrel with trade unionism as such. The right of men to organize is no more to be questioned than your right or mine to be the citizen of the state to which we belong. The right of man to collectively join with others in an endeavour to better himself in the attainment of lawful objects by lawful means, is no more to be questioned than his right to exist; but his right to better himself at the expense of others, to obtain lawful ends by the use of unlawful means, to attempt the attainment of unlawful ends by lawful means, is, in contradiction, not merely with the spirit of English institutions, but with the progress of modern civilization itself. Our industrial problem is not to suppress any form of voluntary organization that can be useful to its members. It is to regulate it in such a way that in attaining the ends it aims at it shall not injure those who have rights of an equal character.

We have witnessed within the past few years a wonderful industrial growth; we have witnessed a wonderful growth of consolidated organizations; we have witnessed the growth of the individual into the partner, the partner into the corporation, the corporation into the combination, syndicate, trust or monopoly. We endeavour in an economy of administration to consolidate all the forces of production in a particular industry, and endeavour to avoid reduplication of every excess in cost, and to make use of every single thing that otherwise might be wasted, and turn it into profit. It is under the impulse of this wonderful system of consolidation that the United States and Canada have proceeded on their remarkable era of material development. Without the corporation the resources of individual capital could be but inefficiently and ineffectively applied to the development of the great natural resources of a state. They could be used in but a small way in comparison with the gigantic uses to which in combination they presently can be placed. The corporation is a multiplication of individual effort, the multiplication of individual capital, a thousand souls, a thousand bodies, a thousand fortunes welded into the personality of a single individual and turned with all the collective power of its multiplied effort to the solution of a particular industrial problem. Such power rightly directed, rightly managed, rightly controlled, is not merely profitable to those who are its immediate possessors; but in the case of its labour, must of necessity be of vast and great benefit to the nation in which it works.

It is to such forces we owe the levelling of our forests, the opening of our wild lands, the development of our unparalleled material resources, the building of our railways—those arteries that carry the life blood of commerce, circulating swift and fresh through the entire nation. It is to them we owe the wonderful development of all the resources of modern civilization, but no man to-day thinks us unfair, thinks us prejudiced, thinks us bigoted, thinks us narrow, if we say that one of the great industrial problems of our day is to keep the corporation within the control of the state, that it may not control the state. We realize that wealth, working within its legitimate channels, is one of the greatest benefits that God, acting through humanity, gives to modern civilization. We realize that its unchecked power would be one of the most corrupting and subverting influences that could be turned loose, and in an effort to check it and regulate it, we have not announced an enmity to corporations, but we have announced an enmity to bad corporations; and in declaring that it is necessary to check, to regulate, to suppress the excesses and abuses, that not only are liable to creep, but have actually crept into the organization of labour, we do not denounce it as such; we do not deny its right to exist, nay, we do not endeavour to detract from the merits of its effort or to deny for a single instant the great good that it has accomplished in a thousand channels in bettering the condition of the working man, and thus making him a better, a finer, a healthier, a more intelligent, and a more capable citizen. That debt we acknowledge, that debt we owe, and we owe it also to ourselves to say that a voluntary association acting within the state should not become *imperium in imperio,* a state within a state, a power to which men acknowledge an obligation superior to that which they give to civil authority.

The industrial problem is not a mere problem of political economy; it is a great problem in morals, in successful government. We come from a stock that believes in certain fixed things, that on a thousand battlefields, and on a thousand scaffolds, has sent its heroes' souls to the sky, giving to all the ages that come after some exalted lesson in principle that shall be the portion of posterity, a lesson practically written in human lifeblood for principle. We have builded up our civilization slowly; it has taken a thousand years for English blood to build the things that make the very heights of modern civilization, viewed from the very best of merely visible standards. It has been a slow process; it has not been accomplished in a day or in an hour; it has not been accomplished without sacrifice of men; it has not been accomplished without great struggles that at times have wrecked the very state in which they occurred. It has not been brought about without the overcoming of the great obstacles that every moral and intellectual movement must necessarily meet; it has not been brought about without collisions between honest opinion, of the strongest character. It has been brought about by the successful efforts of generations, one building upon another, all impelled forward by a single compelling principle, the idea that the noblest thing beneath this sun was individual liberty realized in government.

The little Island of which you are proud, did not rise in an hour from the sea; it did not spring like Minerva from the brain of Jove, full made; it was, geologists tell us, the slow effort of countless ages of tiny animals, each giving his small contribution to the structure of that island, little knowing that his effort, that his little life, his slight strength, was to be given to the upbuilding of the foundation stones of a nation whose influence should be the greatest in all the world's history upon the great civilizing influence of moral law. It was an effort of countless thousands of centuries. So, too, the growth of humanity has been slow. It has been builded little by little; it has gained there and slipped back here; it has had its leader there, and its follower here; it has suffered by the vagaries that attend every human effort; but its progress has been determined; it has been guided by certain fixed principles and it has accomplished certain fixed ends, and to-day we enjoy the heritage of free government, given to us by those countless centuries of effort. We owe it to ourselves and to those who shall come after us that in every problem we meet we shall see, first of all, that in its solution the principles that have made us what we are and what we hope to remain shall not be imperilled by compromise or surrender of the essential things. So, in our industrial problems we owe it to ourselves to see that first of all the idea of individual liberty is maintained in every department of industry, as we declare we will maintain it in every department of social and political activity.

A nation cannot realize principles in one department of its national life that it does not realize in all departments of its national life; for either new principles creep in or old ones leave it. If new ones creep in and are in contradiction to the old principles, then one or the other is false, and if they both live on together one or the other must die, and if the good principle dies and the evil lives on, all men suffer, for there is nothing so powerful in human life as the influence of human principle. It is the motive power of human action; it is that which sends the race onward; it is the directing inspiration that impels every bit of human machinery; it is that which makes a man good or bad; it is that which makes him ignoble or great; it is that which gives a nation a place in the Valhalla of nations hereafter, or sends its name down the ages, a by-word to all the nations that shall come. It is these great principles for which our nations have stood and that have made them what they are, and that in our industrial life of to-day are on trial; for either they are practical and can be applied everywhere and shall be preserved everywhere, or there is some place in which they are impractical—which is impossible if they be true.

This we know, that the great God who made us gave to each man a gift; gave to each one the power to work out his own industrial salvation as well as his spiritual salvation; that He gave unto each man the means not merely to earn a living for himself, but for those dependent upon him; He laid upon him that first law, that in the sweat of his brow shall he labour, and He made his position in life subject to the intelligent use of the gifts which He had thus given him. He gave different gifts; He gave not to all in equal quality; and you who have stood about the nursery of your children, who have witnessed in the growth of your little family the indications of some marked characteristic in the child, the tendency of admiration, of effort, of desire, in some particular field of human effort; the lad who seized his tin sword, the child who took apart his father's watch, the boy who made the improvements that let the door swing more easily on its hinges, who found some mechanical means of improving the conditions of household life, pointed out in every effort of his child-life the purpose of his existence; signalling to you, with the very finger of the Creator pointing through his tiny soul, the pathway for which Providence had designated him, indicating that department of life for which he was best fitted, for which his talent inclined him, to which his desires led him, and so He marked him out for a special and particular field of human life.

And, giving those gifts of stewardship, He requires an account of their use, not merely from the possessor, but from society. Labour is the law of life, for no man can live without labour; it is essential for the support of both himself and those dependent upon him. Therefore, any organization that stands to any man as an obstacle either to the learning of a useful trade or a useful occupation, or to the earning of a living itself, because he disagrees with it in its opinions, judgments, and economic remedies, and not merely endeavours to persuade him to a different view of life, but absolutely determines that it will use its force to compel him to accept its methods or else to do without the means of earning his living, is dangerous, not merely to the state, but to the very purpose of civil society itself.

Do such tendencies exist in the Labour organizations of to-day. Do we find apprenticeship restricted? Do we find the opportunity to learn a trade denied to men and boys? Do we find the opportunity to earn a living denied to the non-union man, not merely in a theory which declares that it is the right of a man to work, or to refuse to work with a man who disagrees with him in religion, politics, or in any thing else.

We do find that it is a practical fact that in every department of the industries of your country and of mine there is an organized effort, not merely to persuade men to accept the opinions of Labour organizations, but to compel them, by the withholding of labour, by persecution in all departments of society, even of the children at school—as has occurred in the United States—and of the mother in the society of other women, of the man by the denial of the society of his fellows, to accept their opinions, their leadership and their judgment in industrial action. Is this a fact, or is it not a fact, that is realized in the life of your state and of mine? If it is a fact, it requires a remedy and that remedy must be commensurate with the wrong. If men are denied that right by the action of the voluntary association, that voluntary association must withdraw or cease to exert that influence or to advise its members to do those acts, to cease to tolerate their commission; nay, more,—must exert its influence and see that those acts are not committed. An organization that does such things, I say, must cease to do them, or be deprived of the right to exist under free institutions.

It is contended sometimes that it is absolutely essential to the success of the Union man that he shall use the power of his organization to exert a moral influence, a moral compulsion, if you will take the lightest, the most acceptable and most pleasing form of it, upon others; to compel them to accept the economic organization of which he is a member, or the economic organization loses its power to accomplish its objects. In the first place, we realize that if lawful means cannot be used to accomplish a lawful end, the lawful end must be abandoned. We realize, secondly, that moral coercion is morally unlawful, whether it be civilly so or not, and in a country dedicated to the doctrine of free will no less in religious than in industrial matters, that moral coercion of a character that affects the private life, desires, hopes, wishes, judgments of an individual, is a reprehensible and unpleasing, nay, an undesirable thing in a nation, which by its blood is dedicated above all things to keeping open, clear and enlightened, the plan of a beautiful and unpolluted moral influence. From a moral standpoint, the coercion thus exercised upon individuals, even when it amounts merely to persuasion, if it be by a series of acts here and there to make that verbal persuasion lawful in itself, yet carrying a hint, a suggestion, an insinuation of means illegal in themselves, unmentionable in legal conversation, then there is a masked purpose, illegal in itself, which endeavours to accomplish itself under the appearance of legal means. But is it absolutely essential for the success of the organization of labour that it shall coerce, morally, if you please, membership in its organization? Mr. John Mitchell, a very high authority, says, "Yes," and indeed, says he, "Further, I believe the day will shortly come when compulsory membership in a labour union will be no more abhorrent to the American mind than compulsory vaccination."

In the very comparison which the gentlemen draws he suggests that which I wish to especially impress upon you, the dangerous political point of view which gradually creeps into the mind of organized labour, and which has succeeded in the diversion of it, and resulted in the evolution of itself from its original purpose, not merely to its modern purpose, but to the means that are so frequently used in its accomplishment. The comparison is apt. It is a comparison between the right of the union and the right of the state. Yet the state itself never exercises the right of compulsory vaccination except under the most unusual circumstances, and then under the authority of its sovereign power and for the protection of the public health. What voluntary organization has ever had the right to assert for itself a power co-equal with the state? Yet, if a man says those things he must think them, if he thinks them he must act along the line of his thought, and if you find a line of parallel reasoning that suggests continually, and by action implicates, at all times, the belief of a co-existent power and authority equal to that of the state, then you must assume that deep in his soul the leader must believe the thing which by parallel he would put into practice.

Is that thing essential to labour organizations? Cannot its beneficent purposes be accomplished in another way than by the coercive influence of membership? Is there no other means by which it can attract to itself the working men of every industry, by which it can make them desirous of availing themselves of its organization? Have we no practical answer to that question? The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, one of the oldest, one of the most powerful; certainly, conservatively speaking, the most influential labour organization of this continent to-day, is an organization which has frequently declared, and to-day declares, through the lips of its President (and the words are his), "That it is committed to the open shop policy." A strong remark for a labour organization, and what does he mean by it? Does he mean that he desires its members not to pay their dues, not to support their organization, not to shape themselves under the direction and suggestion of a single leader? Nay, he means simply this; that the members of his organization work, without question, beside any man who sits in the cab with them; that membership or non-membership in the organization is never enquired after or insisted upon by them. It means more than that, for he says: "We have found that coerced members are bad members, and that the organization that can exact an account of the character of its membership is the organization that attracts the finest mechanics, and makes for itself the most powerful place in the industrial world."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to-day is a wonderful organization, an organization that is unquestionably accepted by American railroad managers as a standard by which to measure the qualifications of engineers, because it is as careful in selecting its membership as a manager could be in selecting his employees. It is an organization that has punished not merely the criminal acts of its members, but has punished their careless acts, their drunkenness on duty, their ignorance concerning their duties. Never in the course of its existence as an organization has it had a coerced member, but has kept high the standard of membership; and in raising the standard of efficiency has attracted to itself the men who wanted to be known as the best engineers and because in that organization a union man means the best man. The railroads of America want engineers from the Railroad Brotherhood.

I have misread the business world of my country and of yours to-day, if it is not seeking for labour that is worthy of a high wage. I know that in any material department of industry a man who offers coal that produces 10, 20, 30 per cent. more power than coal which is in use readily receives 5 or 10 per cent. more for it, and I know with any individual employer, in the employment of a union or a non-union man, side by side, with any of the vast bodies of the manufacturers of the United States, the highest wages are paid to the most efficient workmen and that the industrial world quarrels to-day not with the high wages nor with short hours, nor with excellent working conditions, but quarrels with the attempt of the unions to level men down and not up. It does not quarrel with a union scale of wages—if the organization can supply a union scale of men. It does quarrel with an attempt to make a ten dollar man meet a one dollar man on the compromise of five dollars—that robs one and improperly rewards the other.

That, gentlemen, is not merely a theory, but a fact. It is the declaration of Mr. Gompers that the unionism he directs is endeavouring by a union scale of wages to give to the men who otherwise could not earn so great a reward a larger proportion of the share of production, and lay it as a burden on the back of the better workmen—because that is an act of brotherly love. It is a queer thing, gentlemen, that in no other department of human life will we accept that as a doctrine of brotherly love. No man will divide his wage voluntarily with another except under conditions of compulsion. Without unkindness, we hold that the reward belongs to him who earns it, merit to him who deserves it, the palm to the victor. This nation and ours have not been built upon the attempt to level a man down, but to spur him on that he might win more than another. This has been the secret of the growth of our Republic, that has sent men into the wilderness; over the mountains; over the seas; that they might find for themselves opportunities to make the most of the gifts that God implanted in them; and the Almighty Creator made men individuals, he did not make them in collections; He made them equal before the law, unequal in all other things.

Then, gentlemen, if we are to meet an industrial problem of that character, how are we to do so? By a compromise? By saying, "Now, my friend, in order to make for better feeling between us, we will accept conditions which compromise our principles, which surrender the essential things in which we individually believe, which absolutely give away the fundamental principles upon which our government is framed and which support the whole structure of our civilization?" Fifty years ago, in our Republic, Abraham Lincoln said, "This nation cannot live half slave, half free, the house divided against itself cannot stand." The result of the war of the Rebellion gave proof to that historic assertion. The nation lived on, all free. Citizenship cannot carry out the purpose of the country if it is disunited, discordant, belligerent, in the fundamental, practical, every-day affairs of industrial government. Nations, like men, have souls. There is in every civil society, a dynamic force that, modified by the conditions of existence, differentiates one state from another and gives to each nation that striking collection of differing characteristics that constitute its individuality. Moved on by its own peculiar ideals, obligations, principles, sense of duty, our Republic has travelled through its short space in time, and stands forth because of these things for which it lives, one of the most original and striking personalities in the world. What doth it profit a nation if it gain the whole world, and lose its soul? What shall reward it for the material riches that fill its markets with the blending tongues of civilization and send its cities soaring in golden domes to the skies, more splendid than the cities of gold; what shall all these things profit it if the principles upon which its national life shall have been framed, be crumbled into the dust by discordant practice? Those principles are no longer the ruling spirit of its life, but theories upon which its fathers built.

Your fathers and mine stood for principles for which we stand, not because they were our fathers' principles, but because they were right principles. In all the history of time, with all the effort that human life has made to adjust government to the needs of men, with all the struggles for essential things that have flooded the map of the world with the blood of its best people, what has been the fruit? What have they fought for? Few and simple are the things: Freedom for the individual, freedom for his conscience that he might worship his God as he saw Him, freedom for his person that he might use it as God intended he should, freedom for the soul within him that he might make the personal contract that enabled him to dispose of that which belonged to him in the market where it was paid best. These, after all, are the simple things to which the whole effort of human life can be reduced, and what has been the fate of those nations that have disregarded the principles which were their life? It is the fate of the man from whose body the soul has fled. What to-day is the fate of that degenerate Roman that crawls among the catacombs, that wanders in the shadows of the Coliseum, compared to those great Cæsars who built it 700 years ago? The crescent banner of Moslemism swept over Europe, and before it fell the proud armies of a dozen states, and in the mad fanaticism of his following Mohammed almost ruled the world. To-day, degenerate, senile, disrupted, destroyed, he sits upon his narrow province, the "sick man of Europe." The Greek of Pericles, those isles of whom burning Sappho sung, that small collection of complex life that gave to the world its greatest literature and art, that sent out the men who held the pass of Thermopylæ, the hardy Greek, before whom the civilization and the savagery alike of his day bowed, the one in admiration, the other in respect, is now a dismembered nation, its ancient ideals lost, its ancient principles dead; on the very scene of its greatest athletic triumph, the son of a nation of whom his ancestors never heard, to whom the name would not have meant even as much as the lost Atlantis, dashes home upon the race that rang down through history, a Canadian victor over a degenerate nation. (Applause.)

It is the tale of all time that nations, like men, cannot lose their principles and survive; that in the effort to answer the riddle of their own difficulties, the answer must be upon the line of their own principles. Compromise never won anything; surrender is defeat. It is he who grasps by his hand, who puts into the very depths of his soul the principle that he believes true, the principle for which his ancestors have given their life and their services, that makes the citizen of a nation that lives. And on the economic side of the question, to-day, as our President said, "It is the shots that hit that count"; it is the man behind the machinery that makes the industry. If we are to solve our industrial problems, it is not to be done by the carelessness or indifference that is the greatest industrial offence as well as the greatest political offence. If we are to make our industries great; if we are to hold the place we have won in the manufacturing world; if we are to develop the riches and the wealth of this wonderful empire of ours, they are to be developed by men whose characters have been builded by the forces they have met and won from. It is not to be builded by men dependent upon an organization for the reward of their skill, seeing before them examples of disobedience to law not merely tolerated, but all too often commended by their chosen leaders.

Chicago has passed through a period of criminal Unionism, the like of which perhaps no city in America, perhaps in the world, has ever seen. The very conditions described in Charles Reade's "Put Yourself In His Place," the very type of man that made Slackbridge in "Hard Times," led a determined and fanatical movement to unionize Chicago even at the expense of human life; and in the recent proceedings in the Gilhooly case we have the evidence produced on the stand, as it has been produced in a dozen criminal cases, in a dozen parts of the United States, that men were not morally members of the Union who indulged in criminal acts, but that they were employed by the executive committee of the Union, paid the blood money to perpetrate the crimes which resulted in the maiming and the death of non-union men. If those cases were isolated, if they were exceptional, if they occurred but now and then, if they were not tolerated, if they were not tacitly approved by the leaders of Labour organizations, no man could justly hold this organization accountable for the acts of individuals; but when the officers of an organization pay for the doing of wrong things for which it is to be the beneficiary, then the moral responsibility for the commission of their acts and the legal expenses as well should be upon him who countenances the offence or stands by with mute lips.

I would not blame the organization for criminal acts of its members that it does not countenance, but the mere public statement that they are not countenanced, does not weigh in the scale of public opinion and public judgment—the act there, and the silence here. Where can you point to me in the Dominion of Canada or in any city in the United States, a single instance where the criminal act of a member of a Labour organization done for the advancement of the interests of that organization, or its members, has been punished by the rebuke, by the suspension, by the fining, by the expulsion of the man who did it—not merely when it was morally certain that he had done so, but after he had been convicted by a jury of his peers in a court of the country, defended by the money of his union. A condition like that is a condition that calls for strong language, and even at the risk of being considered radical I dare to speak it. I believe that such a condition, such tendencies—not merely the condition itself, for that, after all, is not the most dangerous thing, because it may be exceptional, it may be isolated—when we see a tendency rapidly developing in every part of the country; it is properly deducible, not merely from the principles, but from even the milder practices which only stop not in quality but in force at the dead line of such acts; it is properly deducible that these are the tendencies toward which such conditions lead; and if you consider, gentlemen, what a strike means, you will realize why these principles tend in that direction.

A strike, we are commonly told, is a cessation of labour on the part of a number of men, for the purpose of obtaining some demand or requirement. It is accompanied, always, otherwise it could not be successful, by an attempt to persuade others not to take the place of the men who leave. That persuasion may be peaceable or not. So long as it is peaceable it is unquestionably right, so long as it is not accompanied by coercion or intimidation in which there is a threat of injury by person or property, no one can question the right of such persuasion. But a strike is an attempt to prevent the operation of business until the attainment of the strikers has been complied with. When men do not find the demand easily obtained, when they find their places filled, as the employer has the unquestionable right to fill them, it is natural, it is human, it is almost irresistible that men should yield to the tendency to attempt to use stronger means to prevent the taking of their places and the breaking of the strike; but even though that tendency exists, even though that liability to abuse that right was one that the average human being would naturally easily perceive, we have yet no right to condemn the act even though it was subject to abuse, until we find it accompanied by exhortations, by declarations, by an attitude of mind toward the non-union men which puts him into a position in which it is almost certain that, opportunity presenting itself, violence will follow to prevent the breaking of the strike; as it is certain that a man insulted in his religion will attack him who insults it, or believing it absolutely essential to the protection that he has been taught to secure the results aimed at, that a higher good and a greater good which has been preached into him and instilled there by practice, defends in his very mind the act which he commits.

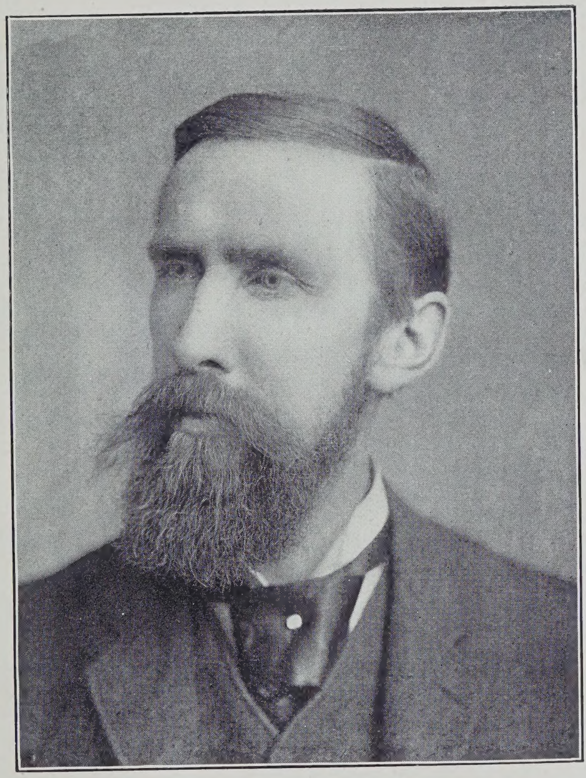
And if you would produce a psychological state as broad as the movement of the principles and the individuals who gave them life, that produces in the minds of its men an honest, however distorted, belief that in the doing of that thing, as has been argued publicly by Union leaders, they were acting for the best interests of society, the individual who wants to work must give way to the benefit of the vast majority of men in their attempt to benefit themselves. It is only when we realize the insidious character of the forces at work, the powerful moral appeal that they make to the human mind and to the whole human being, that we begin to realize how tremendously important it is that these things should be corrected. On that subject it is our position that organizations of labour, moving along these lines, obeying the behests of that character of leadership, must be clarified of their abuses and excesses, or, in the language of the Anthracite Coal Commission, of the United States, " An organization that cannot accomplish its purpose, except by violation of the law and order of society, has no right to exist." That is not a declaration that unions have no right to exist. I believe that in the modern system of industrial organizations, the organization of labour is as necessary for its protection as the organization of capital; but I do not believe that the methods it pursues are essential, or that the state or the citizen can, with safety to himself or his interests, tolerate their continuance, or observe their growth with indifference.

For, gentlemen, we must realize once and for all that the power of nations does not lie in armies nor in ships of steel, but in the righteousness of their principles. It is the retention of the things for which our nations stand that make us a power in the world's life to-day. It is the influence of England, the United States and England's Colonies that has made for the progress of the form of civilization that we perceive to-day in its highest form, intellectually, morally and materially. That civilization is not based upon material progress; it is based in its convenience, in its comforts, in the thousand things that have made life easier and happier and have given comfort to the poor man, profitable opportunity to the rich man. All those things a material civilization has supplied; but the means by which that was produced, the forces that operated to bring about that condition were forces operating under moral conditions of the law, brought about by the acts of your ancestors and mine. It is the operation of that great series of moral causes that, beginning with the Magna Charta, have come down to us as the moral effort of the English-speaking race to better conditions among God's children. It is the spirit of loyalty to a British King and to that for which he stands that has made you progressive citizens of an Imperial Kingdom. It is the splendid things in English law that you brought with you into this country that are making this wonderful Empire blossom as the rose.

You have great problems before you, you have a rich and wonderful land here whose resources, large as we know them to be, are even beyond the conception and multiplication of human realization. You have before you the very same problem that the United States in part has met—the development of these great resources, the use of these enormous riches. You need for that purpose every single man fit to be a subject of the English King and a citizen of Canada that you can possibly bring into your domain. The test for entrance into the Dominion should be his evidence to be a proper citizen of your country, for you will not bring here human machinery, you will not bring here so much ability to wield a shovel or lift a pick. You are bringing beings who are adding to the moral and intellectual wealth of the state, who, by the work which they shall do in developing the Dominion, will make it one of the great forces in the world, and add to it their citizenship. They should be people who will give to their children that same loyal devotion to the Empire that sent the Scots Greys rallying upon the battlefield at Waterloo, that took the Scotsman of old and made him throw the heart of Bruce far into the centre of the fight; it is that spirit that has made your nation, that has made mine, and we hope will control its future.

Perhaps one of the strongest critics of the institutions of the United States, was Herbert Spencer, and examining them carefully and critically he sums up all that I have hoped to bring home to you to-night, that "free institutions can be successfully worked only by men jealous of their own rights and sympathetically jealous of the rights of others." He would neither impose upon others nor permit others to impose upon him. We must always have our questions and difficulties, we must always have perplexities and puzzles; they are part of the law of human life, and all we can hope to do in meeting them is to meet them with the determination to solve them by the fixed principles that make up our individual national life. Although the winds may blow against us, although the storms of doubt and difficulty may sweep about us, though the lightnings may pierce the clouds and the thunders may roll over us, still shall we stand firmly, as have stood for thousands of years, those great structures of the Egyptian kings, the pyramids. The sun has scorched and cracked their sides, rains have beaten upon their stones, the lightnings have played about them, but still they stand.

The Hon. George E. Foster.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I consider myself favoured in being present here to-night. I love a specialist, when he is a good one. If he is not a good one, but a crank, I do not have so much



THE HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER, M.A., D.C.L., M.P.
Ex-Finance Minister of Canada.

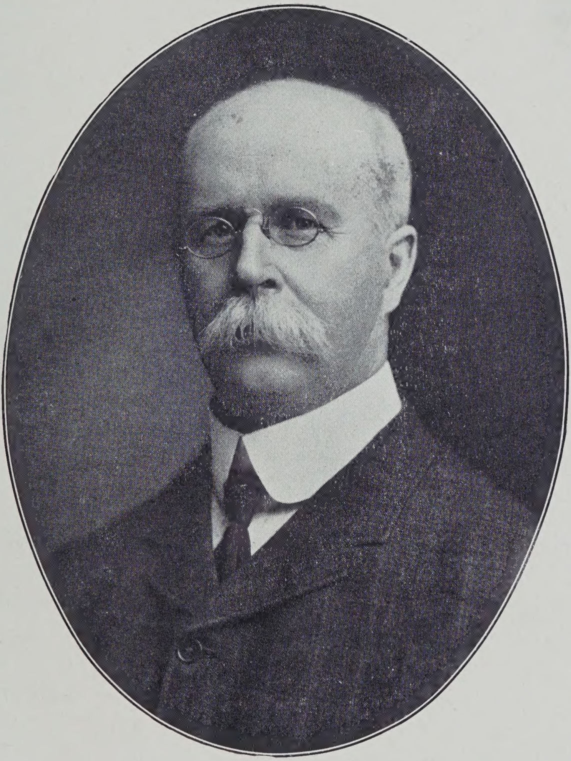
respect for him, and, if there is a specialist in any department of human enterprise that I would go farther to hear than another it is a specialist in what you may call, for the lack of better terms, "The Great Industrial Problem"; so when I knew that Mr. Emery was coming I looked around to possess myself of a dinner ticket and I made a note in my memorandum to be here at 6.15 or as soon thereafter as it was possible, and I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, that I have been here. I am glad to have heard all Mr. Emery has said to us. He has opened up a great deal to us. We have been thinking some of these thoughts before, but it is wonderful how a speaker who has made them a study and has reduced them down to crisp and short methods of expression—how he opens up our minds like putting in a pry and making a little wider the train of thought that we may have commenced upon. Now our friend has done us inestimable good to-night, but I am not satisfied. I partake of that spirit which he has lauded so much, which never allows the world to rest, simply because the world is never satisfied, and I, as one unit of the world, cling to that, and am bound never to be satisfied.

This Club has another duty to perform. It has to bring Mr. Emery back again, and it has to set him loose upon the other side of this question. He has dealt to-night almost entirely in principles, and there are none of us who will quarrel with him for his setting forth of these principles. Never can these be too strongly brought before the people's minds, never too frequently and never too strongly. He has dwelt upon those principles. He leaves to-morrow and goes back, and those things go on and the abuses continue. Now what I want to suggest is that you bring him back some time, not too long from this, and set him loose upon the practical methods by which we are to encounter and overcome, and lead and guide and direct this thing so that we may arrive as soon as possible at the best state of industrial conditions. You see what I want. I want him to have an hour and a half on that side of the question, and then he will have performed to its completion the good work that he has begun to-night. I think, probably, a great deal of the trouble arises from the fact of a narrowness of the term labour. Service is the general condition of the universe, every man who is fit to live and every man who lives a life that is worth living is giving service of some kind. If he is not, he is not performing the work for which he was created, and the trouble, I think, or one of the troubles, is with the labouring man, and I am a labouring man, and so is my friend here; that it is narrowed down too much, and that when you speak of labour you confine it to but a small proportion of the people in this world who give service, of all the different kinds.

The philosopher in his study, the man in his laboratory, dried up with the fumes of his chemicals and almost without body because of the non-exercise of the physical part of him in the stern and strong work of prying into, and getting at things, in his laboratory, he is doing service. "Great goodness, what service he is doing." When through his laborious work he by-and-by comes at the centre of things and he liberates a power which was never known to have been under the hand of man before and throws it out to the world to thereby implement the work and produce development and add to the wealth and the health and happiness of the world; this man gives service, and so with every man in the world, in giving service of the body, of the heart, or of the mind. We narrow these things down where men who ride hobbies become tyrannical because they will not look upon labour as anything else than manual work. So I think if we had this term a little more generalized, and not brought down to the narrow place in which it is kept too much, we would have a better idea of the worth of labour and of the inter-dependence of labour and service of all kinds.

What my friend said in reference to indifference being the trouble, I believe is the reason of half the difficulty that takes place in Labour organizations; it is the indifference of the many to the doings of the few. Now I have great faith in the labouring man. I believe that the average labouring man through and through, in every class, high and low, is essentially an honest man, striving to get at the best results in the very best possible way, and I look upon it that a great many of the tyrannies and vagaries of Labour unions are due primarily to the fact that the majority of labouring men are indifferent. They do not attend their unions; and they do not exercise their influence upon their unions and thus in the end they are dominated by a few and allowed to be dominated by a few because of the indifference of many; so that, if we could have a throwing away of this indifference among the labouring unions themselves, so that we could get at the average sentiments of the whole of the unions that make up the Labour organization, we would have the restraining influence. But I am not here to attempt to add anything to the address which we have heard to-night. We have seldom, I think, heard an abler address. We have seldom spent an hour which, I think, has been more profitable to us.

I consider myself the debtor of the gentleman who has spoken to-night. In my position, as having something to do with the Legislative work of this country, I consider that these great industrial problems are the most difficult and harrowing questions which we have up in our Legislatures, and I welcome the advent and the opportunity of listening for even an hour to a man who has made these matters a specialty, and who can bring from his wide reading and experience, and crystallize in a few moments, in the space of a short hour, so much of what will be of benefit to all thoughtful men who are here. And I move, Mr. Chairman, which is a mere formality, that this Club tender its most hearty thanks to Mr. Emery for the splendid hour that he has given us to-night; and that we do not forget in giving him this vote of thanks that we will have a sort of lien upon him when he has leisure, the intention of which will not be allowed to relax at all until he comes back, and gives us another hour on that other side of the question, which, for my own part, I should like to hear even more than the part I have heard to-night, for, after all, this question will not down. It has to be solved, and although it can be solved very largely by public opinion outside the Legislative Chamber, my opinion is that it will obtrude more and more into the Legislative Chamber, and that ultimately it will have its final solution by the crystallization of the best sentiment into law and statute and the regulation of the land.



THE HON. A. B. MORINE, K.C.
Lately Opposition Leader in Newfoundland.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES QUESTION.

Address by the Hon. A. B. Morine, K.C., lately Leader of the Opposition in Newfoundland, before the Empire Club, November 1st, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I have so recently been an active politician in the Colony of Newfoundland that I feared in speaking here to-day upon a subject which is just now a matter of active politics, I might, if I spoke extemporaneously, let fall something which might be misunderstood and which might hurt the feelings of some of the people in the Colony which I so recently left, and therefore I have submitted what I have to say in the main to writing, a custom which is not usual with me. However, I had another reason, and that was that the subject was so extensive that if I started to talk about it offhand I might take too much of your valuable time.

You have noticed in the public press a considerable amount of discussion with regard to the present position of affairs between the United States of America and Great Britain over what is called the recent *modus vivendi* on the herring situation, and I propose to put you in possession of certain facts so that you may read and understand. The fishermen of the United States resort to Newfoundland for two purposes,—first, to secure bait for carrying on a deep sea fishery on the Grand Banks; secondly, to obtain herring for food purposes in the autumn and early winter, which fishery is known as the "herring fishery," or the "winter herring fishery." It is this latter fishery about which the *modus vivendi* has been made. With reference to the bait I might explain briefly that bait means caplin, quid and herring, all of which are small fish and used in catching cod. I need say nothing on this question because it is not the subject of the present disturbance between the countries.

In order to understand the position I must draw your attention to the shape of Newfoundland. It is triangular and on the east, facing the Atlantic, the great mass of population resides. It is there where the Capital City is situated, and it is not resorted to for bait by the Americans very much. The south side of the Island, facing the Grand Banks, between Cape Race at the southern extremity and Cape Ray as you enter into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is best known, and it is here where the Americans come to secure bait. They have no treaty rights in any of the harbours along that shore. The West Coast, Cape Ray to the Straits of Belle Isle, which is washed by the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, supplies the herrings for the winter fishery. The Bay of Islands is the centre of this traffic. The matter of bait fish is not a matter of treaty at the present time. Now, the winter herring fishery—so called—is therefore different from the bait fishing, and is conducted in October, November, December and January. This is carried on in the main on the west coast of the Island —that is, the coast which faces the Gulf of St. Lawrence and which faces Canada.

By the Treaty of 1818 the Americans have certain rights on that coast. The words of the Treaty are as follows: "It is agreed that the inhabitants of the United States shall have forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, on that part of the coast"; meaning the north part. Prior to the season of 1905-6, no attempt was made to interfere with American fishing vessels in the prosecution of the winter herring fishery in Newfoundland waters. The method of prosecuting the fishery was as follows: American vessels cleared from ports of the United States with a fishing license. In Newfoundland they bought the herrings from the Newfoundland fishermen. The cargo so purchased when carried in American vessels was allowed free entry into American markets as the produce of American fisheries, which was a definition winked at or legalized by the State Department. Herrings carried in Newfoundland vessels would be charged about seventy-five cents a barrel, the result being that the Americans monopolized that trade and the Newfoundland fishermen were entirely excluded. But you must not carry away the impression that that was altogether unsatisfactory to the Newfoundland fisherman because so far as they were concerned, on that part of the coast, thev were more pleased to deal with the Americans than they would be to deal with their own people.

However, the Americans as a matter of fact did not catch the herrings; they simply bought the herrings after they were caught by the local fishermen. Up to 1898 the Americans had been buying these herrings at any price they chose to give, and they were in the habit of throwing the small ones away and wanton destruction prevailed. At that time I was the Minister of Fisheries and I refused to allow this to go on bv invoking an Act, and I succeeded in establishing a fixed price with a stricter measure, payment in cash and more economical methods, and other regulations for the preservation of the fishery, and since 1898, about seven years' of business has been carried on to the satisfaction of all concerned and to the great profit of the local fishermen.

Now, then, I must take you over a little history in which Canada had played some part. In 1890 the present Premier of Newfoundland succeeded in negotiating with the late James G. Blaine an arrangement known as the Bond-Blaine Convention. Its main object was to give free entry into American markets of fish exported from Newfoundland in return for free entry of certain American products into Newfoundland and for the right to purchase bait in Newfoundland waters, that is to say, chiefly on the southern coast. It was a measure of reciprocity. The Macdonald Ministry of that date—I mean the Ministry of Sir John Macdonald—opposed the ratification of the Treaty by the Queen on the ground that it was intended to injure Canada incidentally by affecting the position then existing between her and the United States. As a result it was not accepted, but in 1904 negotiations were renewed by the present Premier of Newfoundland with the late John Hay, Secretary of State, which resulted in an amended arrangement known as the Bond-Hay Treaty. His Majesty's Government assented to this arrangement, but owing to pressure of American fishery interests the United States failed to adopt the Bond-Hay Treaty. Thereupon the Newfoundland Legislature, under the influence of Sir Robert Bond's Government, annoyed by what they considered the unfair conduct of the American fishermen and Senate, changed their policy and legislated, first, to prevent the sale of bait fishes to Americans, a matter perfectly within their power and not affecting any Treaty, and in the second place to prevent the sale of herrings to American fishing vessels pursuing the winter herring fishery.

They simply said it shall be unlawful for the Newfoundlanders to sell to American vessels for any price or under any conditions whatever. You can easily see that the Americans would immediately turn to the exercise of their Treaty in an endeavour to evade this rather drastic legislation. They said, if we cannot buy we at least have a right to catch and we will send our own vessels fitted up to take the herrings for our own use; and the local fishermen became alarmed because they depended on the trade with the American vessels, and I think the people of that part of the coast were very much incensed against their own government. When the Americans came down they found it was not so easy as they supposed to catch, because they had very small crews and it would take them a very long time, and instead of filling up their vessels by the help of Americans they got hundreds of people residing on the Coast. As it was very difficult to fill their vessels, in the short time, they induced the fishermen to go outside the three-mile limit and come back as part of the American crew. You perceive at once that was not very difficult when they had the favour and sympathy of the people themselves. The result was that a great number of the population would sail out and ship on the American boats and then sail in to conduct the fisheries in Newfoundland waters, and the result was to a great extent to make the restrictive legislation inoperative.

That resulted in further legislation in the winter of the present year, 1906, making it unlawful for Newfoundlanders on board American vessels to fish in Newfoundland waters, and declaring that fishing from on board American vessels was confined to the "inhabitants of the United States," according to the Treaty, in the strictest sense of those words. They said then that a Newfoundlander hired on board an American vessel was not an inhabitant, but the Legislature said, if he takes fish in Newfoundland waters he becomes liable to our law, and not only that, but he can be punished by confiscating the vessel on which he is working. I occupied a position in the Legislature at the time and I pointed out the extreme danger of such a course, because it seemed very unlikely that the American Government would allow us to board one of their vessels for the purpose of taking one of their crew, and certainly that Government would not allow them to confiscate an American vessel on account of a local regulation to which they had not been a party. This Act was to come in force by the proclamation of the Governor, which practically meant it was suspended for the assent of His Majesty's Government.

Now another difficulty arose. When the Newfoundland fishermen were fishing for the herrings they used ordinary nets, but when the American found he was driven to have a small crew, he turned to the use of what is called a "purse-seine," which is an immense net. It is as large as a hundred ordinary nets, and the use of it is not allowed by the local laws of Newfoundland, for this reason, that in taking so many hundreds of fish in such a large net only a very few are saved and the remainder of them fall to the bottom and die and foul the grounds, and so the local Legislature in Newfoundland have prohibited its use. The Newfoundlanders protested against the use of it by the Americans and consequently this question arose, and it is one which will prove of great interest to the lawyers, no doubt: Can a local Legislature, a part of the Empire, pass a local law contrary to a Treaty which has been passed by the Empire as to a foreign country. Can the Empire itself pass a law affecting a right it has previously conceded by Treaty to a foreign country? The empire is one of the countries and the foreign country is the other—doesn't it occur to you that that arrangement having been made, that a modification or anything affecting it must also be consented to by the two parties? In any case, Newfoundland said, you must pursue the fisheries in the waters of Newfoundland as the Newfoundlanders pursue it; and the Americans said, we will pursue it as we like.

The result was that the Imperial Government took the matter up and the outcome is the *modus vivendi;* the result of which is simply this, that the Act to prevent the Newfoundlanders hiring on American vessels was not to be put in force at present, the Americans on the other hand to be allowed to use the purse-seines, but they have agreed to use them with as small interference as possible with the local fishermen; the local fishermen, on the other hand, being perfectly agreeable to the American procedure. The American fishermen have agreed that the purse-seines shall not be used at all, and the Newfoundlanders are going outside the three mile limit and becoming part of the crews of the American vessels, and are now peacefully fishing for herrings in their own waters. Now this agreement with His Majesty's Government is what you have seen in the papers, called the *modus vivendi.* It appears that this was the subject of lengthened correspondence between the Government of the United States and His Majesty's Government on the one hand and between His Majesty's Government and the Colonial Government on the other.

His Majesty's Government informed the Colonial Government from time to time on the course of proceedings and asked them to make the concession, and when they refused told them the concession must necessarily be made in the interests of the Empire, and when the *modus vivendi* was decided, they telegraphed the fact to the Colonial Government, and therefore I think the Colony of Newfoundland has no just reason or cause of complaint so far as His Majesty's Government is concerned in this matter except if it be that His Majesty's Government have not adopted the views of the local Government as to the meaning of the Treaty and have not agreed to uphold the interpretation which the Local Government has put upon that Treaty by force of arms if necessary. If the Colonial Government has any cause of complaint it is wholly this, that the British Government has not said, we put ourselves in your hands and we are willing to go to the verge of war to enforce your opinions. I think His Majesty's Government must be excused from the charge of having done anything which is unjustifiable towards the Colony in this particular matter. I may tell you, too, that the so-called excitement which you see spoken of in the newspapers is largely a matter of newspaper making. It is felt in the Colony by the politicians and to some extent by the mercantile men who are deeply interested in the attempt to obtain a market for their fish in the United States and who look upon this as a part and parcel of the policy to bring that about; but so far as the mass of the people are concerned they are quite favourable to the traffic with the Americans going on as it has gone on for so many years, or they are careless what becomes of it.

Now it cannot be denied that the United States on their part have acted ungenerously and unfairly towards Newfoundland. They have accepted for a number of years the privilege of obtaining bait in Newfoundland waters to carry on their own fisheries on the Grand Banks without any return whatever; for during the long period while they have been obtaining the privilege in Newfoundland waters they have imposed a very severe duty upon all Newfoundland products of the fisheries going into their ports. It has been a one-sided bargain. The Newfoundland Government have endeavoured to get a reciprocity treaty with them; and they have always held out that a treaty would be sometime made, but when it came to the final pinch they rejected it; and therefore I think it is fair to say that the United States have been unfair to the Colony. It is impossible on the other hand not to sympathize with the Colony in its resentment of the treatment received by the United States. It is not difficult to understand that this recent legislation has been productive of a very great deal of just annoyance on their part about the treatment they have received, and it is not difficult for you to understand that the very existence of American rights in these Treaty waters must be a constant source of annoyance; but when you have said so much I think it must also be said that our sympathy cannot go with the Government of Newfoundland to the full extent of the policy they have adopted.

I, for one, think they have been perfectly justified in refusing to give up to the Americans the bait to carry on their Grank Bank fisheries because the control of the bait is a matter entirely within their legislative competence. I do not think, however, they have been wise in endeavouring to restrict the Americans in those rights which they enjoy by Treaty. I think it becomes a Nation and every part of a Nation to give to treaties with other countries a high and generous interpretation, and therefore when I see the Government of the Colony in a spirit of annoyance and irritation endeavouring to whittle down or to lessen or destroy the rights which the treaties give to the people of the United States, I feel my sympathy with the Government must terminate at that point on that particular part of their policy. I think with reference to the exercise of the rights of the inhabitants of the United States that the correct policy is to admit those rights and to give them a broad and generous construction and to administer them in a friendly manner, but at the same time to turn to the mother country as the Colony did in the matter of the French Treaty rights in the same waters, and say to the mother country that these rights were first given to the people of the United States as a debt on the part of the Empire at large and the price is not being paid by the Empire at large, it is being paid by a small community, and it is the duty of the Imperial Government by all means in its power to terminate those rights by negotiation or otherwise with the

United States and until they are terminated to compensate the Colony from year to year for the loss.

I think it is fair for the Colony to say to the mother country, it is quite true it is our duty as part of the Empire to submit to the burdens which are imposed for the benefit of the Empire, but it is the duty of the Empire to bear part of the cost. The mother country has admitted that very generously in the matter of the French treaty rights that existed there a short time ago. The Imperial Government has paid the price and the tax-payer at home has been asked to furnish a very handsome sum to the French people to concede the rights they formerly enjoyed, and it ought to be an example and an inspiration to the Colonies as to the correct course to pursue in this matter.

I want to draw your attention for one moment to the interest of the Dominion in this matter in particular. The fisheries of British North America are held as a common right by all British subjects. The fisheries of Newfoundland are not solely the property of the Newfoundland people, neither are the fisheries of Canada the sole property of the Canadians. They belong to all British subjects alike—the fisheries of each are the property of the whole. They are of vital importance to the whole Eastern seaboard of British North America, and free entry into the American market is of vast importance to all British North America. Free entry granted to one section would lessen the chances that other parts would obtain free entry. In 1890, Sir John Macdonald said that Newfoundland had no right to make a treaty with the Americans on fishery matters when Canada was not a party to such a treaty. By Newfoundland putting certain privileges in the hands of the people of the United States, Canada is debarred from making a treaty which she might otherwise make. In other words, one part of the Empire should not hold the key to the situation, and so, he said, that Newfoundland had no right to make a treaty with the people of the United States of America to which Canada was not a consenting party, because if she made such a treaty, Newfoundland would not only be giving away what belonged to herself, but that which equally belonged to Canada, and it would be directly affecting the policy of the Dominion of Canada towards the United States in reference to those fisheries which are in the Dominion itself.

Now the position is that, the United States in fishery matters is seeking after something which can be given by Newfoundland or Canada. If one gives it without the other it is the loss of the other and, therefore, the two should work together. The fisheries being one in ownership and largely one in use, and all being affected by the manner in which they are controlled, should be governed and administered by one central authority. Newfoundland should make no arrangement to which Canada does not consent and Canada none to which Newfoundland does not assent. They should have one policy. Newfoundland and Canada should be one in sympathy and the Colonies should be confederated.

Now, will you just allow me in conclusion, a few words with reference to moralizing a little bit upon what I have seen in the press, or at any rate of what is put forward by certain politicians in the Colony. I think that patience ought to be exercised towards the mother country in dealing with matters of this kind. I think Imperial Statesmen must consider international questions from a national and often from a world-wide standpoint. They must be often actuated by motives we are unable even to conjecture, so intricate are the questions of statecraft and so meagre are our sources of information as to the undercurrents. Local politics should not intrude into consideration of Imperial questions. We are too often inclined to magnify our local interests in comparison with those of the Empire and of the world at large. Are we as considerate—as patriotic—as we ought to be? Are we not too ready to complain of the Imperial Government, and too prone to represent it as cringing to foreign powers? How often do we say, not understanding the situation, that the Imperial Government is gradually losing ground? Well, admit it is true, is it the part of the patriot to be saying so even to his next door neighbour? Ought we not to show our pride in the Empire and not be willing to admit such a thing even to ourselves? After all, is it true?

Great Britain has a habit of conceding non-essentials, but has she ever been willing to concede essentials? Look at all history. Does any country in the world show more courage in fighting for abstract rights than the very country whose flag so proudly flies over us? I think, too, in this matter of dealing with the United States, that we ought to be equally generous to the great country which lies to the south of us. They are not always considerate. They are very often grasping and ready to drive a hard bargain, but after all, instead of getting impatient, ought we not to consider that they are only the faults of early youth in a very young nation just feeling its strength; that they haven't got big enough and heart enough to show their generosity? Ought we not by our patience to try and teach them a better way? Is there any reason why we should drive a hard bargain with them if they are ungenerous with us? Is that any reason why the British Government should act harshly with them? Is it not better to meet generously those who are not generous. The flag that flies over us is surely more dignified when it does not emulate this spirit; but by the force of example teaches a better way than if it adopted the methods, the use of which by our neighbours we so often and strongly condemn.

Now, in conclusion, on this particular matter of the present difficulty between the Colony and the United States, it is a matter of much less importance than we might think by looking at the newspapers. It is not likely to be the matter of great excitement in the Colony. I think such excitement that does exist and which does not arise from politics purely and simply is due to a condition of things which cannot be made better by quarrelling, but which must be met by negotiating. The cure of the position is some new arrangement, some new treaty. So far as Newfoundland is concerned they will have no grievance if the United States permits the free entry into the markets of the United States. I think that is a matter of much wider importance and much wider interest than the mere fishing itself. It is a matter which the Dominion of Canada ought to deal with, and I for one am tired of hearing about Confederation in Canada and doing nothing. I am tired of hearing Party after Party saying they are favourable to it and yet doing nothing; I am tired of hearing them say, we are going to wait until somebody in the Colony is in favour of it, which day may never come. I consider that the position of Newfoundland, lying out in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is such an important one that it is a national question, and a very important national question, and much more so by this very fishery question. We are constantly on the verge of making some arrangement between Canada and the United States, and that can never be done satisfactorily unless the interests of Newfoundland are made a part and parcel of it.

Now, Newfoundland ought to be a part of Canada. Her interests ought to be represented by the Government of the Dominion, and the Government of Canada ought to take some active steps to bring about the confederation of the two Colonies. Canada ought to go to the Imperial Government and say that we consider the outstanding of Newfoundland as a menace and as an act of hostility to the Dominion. The Dominion of Canada cannot afford to have the Colony standing out in that way, and some arrangement must be made, and the day must come when this will no longer stand in the way of the wheels of progress of this great Dominion.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that this subject is not one that I can expect very great interest in amongst the members of this Club and in this city. I have come here now to make this my home, and I am speaking no longer as a Newfoundland politician. I have tried today to avoid any prejudice in the matter. Possibly if I expressed my own sentiments as they exist I might have been more pronounced, but I speak as a patriotic Canadian, I speak as a citizen of the Queen City of Ontario, when I say that some active steps ought to be taken to bring about the confederation of the Colonies of Newfoundland and Canada.

THE REV. FATHER L. MINEHAN.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Address by Rev. Father L. Minehan, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 8th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club,—

I may say, at the outset, that my contribution will not be, by any means, as valuable as that just announced. (A contribution of $100 by Mr. H. C. Osborne to the funds of the Club.) I feel very deeply the honour of addressing a club such as the Empire Club, that numbers in its membership financiers whose names are household words throughout Canada; authors, whose books are on the shelves of our libraries; military officers, whose works on tactics are favourably known in both hemispheres; and commercial leaders, whose ideas have been put into effect in some of the greatest centres of the world. You have entertained and been addressed by some of the most distinguished characters of the British Empire, and the descent from these to one who is a Rector of what was called a few years ago a suburban parish, is a tremendous descent indeed, and one that would make me hesitate very much to address you were I not sure of the kindness and consideration which will be extended to me.

The subject upon which I will address you is one in which I take a great interest; namely, Civil Service Reform, and it is also one I think eminently worthy of the support of such a club as this, which makes its specialty the promotion of that standard, that high ideal, which has made British statesmanship an honour to the world. Associations such as this in ancient times in no small measure developed that galaxy of poets and statesmen, and orators, whose names are immortal, and whose influence is potent in all times. Their gatherings were subjected to badinage on the part of the wits and wags of that time; Aristophanes being especially distinguished in that respect. I understand the Empire Club has suffered in that way. Pleasing jokes have been made at its expense; luckily they are more good-natured and less dangerous than the jokes to which the ancient clubs just referred to were subjected. I do not think that these bits of badinage will in any way influence the course of the Empire Club; will in any way divert it from its purpose of making us think imperially and making us realize better the grandeur of the resources of this Canada of ours with its one foot in the Atlantic and one in the Pacific, and its almost illimitable resources. I think the Empire Club will go on making us realize our importance as a centre of that array of Commonwealths which are still building up the greatest empire that the world has ever seen.

I think it is thoroughly in harmony with the ideals of the Empire Club to take up the subject of Civil Service Reform, to inscribe it on their banners and to try to make it, as soon as possible, the foundation of our administrative system. By Civil Service Reform, I mean appointment to all public offices by competitive examination. I lay special stress on the term "competitive" examination, because it is possible to have an examination that would certify only to a man's fitness. Competitive examination means in the first place, a fair field for all, and it means then, that appointment will be made, and made only, in accordance with the number of marks obtained by the candidate. The examination must be conducted by an independent board. It may be news to you to know that this very system was one of the reforms of the great Catholic Council of Trent, three hundred and fifty years ago. That august body, in the course of its reforms, decreed that all parochial appointments should be made by competitive examination. Three centuries after this the Imperial Government in Great Britain introduced the same system into the British Isles. The first step was taken about 1855. A number of officers about that time wrote the competitive examination. The present system dates from 1870, and with the exception, I believe, of the Foreign Office, all appointments in the public service of the British Isles are now filled in this way.

The British Government was then just about three hundred years behind the Church in making that step. I claim that our present system of appointment in Canada is a violation of that fundamental principle of popular government—the government of the whole people by the whole people. At the present time our public officers are appointed according to the political party in power; and that means, of course, that only a certain portion—those who think as the party in power does—are appointed to public offices. Now, we must have party politics as long as men will differ on important questions. But once the Government reaches power; once the reins of government are placed in the hands of any set of men; then they should cease at once to belong to the party, and are bound to belong to the country. As I have said, our present appointments are simply party appointments, and the result is that we have government by a party, and sometimes we have government for a party, perhaps misgovernment for the remainder. In making these remarks I do not wish to reflect upon the present occupants of Civil Service positions. I think one of our public boasts is that we have men of self-sacrificing dispositions, men of high ideals, men who have remained poor when they could have been rich, because of their devotion to their duties.

The present condition of our Civil Service is one of our proudest boasts, but at the same time we owe that to Canadian honesty, and not to the system under which they are appointed. They are honest in spite of the system, rather than because of it. Coming to another point, I think you will all agree that our present system of appointment to public office is demoralizing to political parties. It is the plague of the able representative, and it is the crutch of the inefficient one. The man who is able to win on his merits finds himself surrounded by a troop of camp followers, the inefficient representative expects to be carried to victory on their shoulders. Homer describes the Grecian troops defiling on the plains before Troy, before making an attack on the city, and hoping after the capture to rake in the spoils. He compares them to the multitudinous swarms of flies that hover around cattle-sheds in the early spring. If he lived amongst us, and if he saw the mad rush for a Toronto license inspectorship, his comparison would seem very weak indeed.

Now the question arises, why have we this mad scramble for office in a country with such varied resources, which presents so many opportunities for a young man of ambition? Why have we these crowds scrambling for every petty office? This is not the case in Great Britain, although, on account of the congestion of population, of course the opportunities for advancement and individual work are not so great there as here. In the older land every man knows that he will obtain an office only after years of study and within a certain age limit—17 to 24. Here, however, anyone who has not attained to a patriarchal age can obtain an office. All he has to do is to chase some votes for a candidate, and then chase the candidate until he gets seated in a quiet and snug birth. The natural result of such a system is that it will create a lot of hungry office seekers. Of this system, I think I may say, paraphrasing the words of Shakespeare, "It curseth him that gives and him that takes." For example, a man in whose hands rests the power of appointing is continually assailed by applicants, and when he makes an appointment, his motives are subject to misrepresentation. He is accused of making the appointment for sectarian or such like motives.

The man who obtains his office simply and purely by merit has a more exalted sense of his duties and is likely to do his work better. A man who obtains his office by political intrigue knows that his advancement must depend on the same thing, and he is more likely to think of currying political favour than of entering heart and soul into his duties. And in regard to this matter, I would advocate a more radical procedure with regard to public office than obtains in the British Isles. I do not think municipal offices, there, are decided by competitive examination. I would advocate competitive examination for all municipal offices, and that promotions, as far as possible, be decided by the same test. In the case of promotions, length of service and capacity should be taken into consideration. It would be easy to quote many other arguments in favour of abolishing our present system of appointment to public office. We could show that this system ignores the essential non-political character of administrative action; we could also point out that this system of appointment by political favour, if persevered in, will lead to the spoils system; we could also point out the dangers of such a system in the way of entrenching a party in office.

Let it not be said that such dangers do not exist among us. Again and again we have heard political leaders say that they were defeated simply because of the official phalanx the party in power could command. I am not discussing now, for a moment, how much truth is under that assertion. It has been made again and again. Editorials have been written stating that the Mackenzie Government in Ottawa was handicapped by the treachery of civil servants, appointed by their predecessors, and continued in office by them. I am dealing now simply and purely with the system, and I say the system inevitably leads to expressions of that particular kind. Now, there are many reasons of this kind why we should do away with the present system. I do not see that there is any reason whatever for continuing the present system. In fact, the arguments I have used in advocating Civil Service reforms are threadbare. They have been used so often that they have almost become truisms. My excuse, in bringing them forward, is that of the late Bishop Strachan, in ordering a certain Rector to preach a sermon again, that he had preached several times before. Some members of his congregation complained that this Rector had preached the same sermon three times at short intervals. The Bishop asked them what was the text, what was the nature of the remarks, and he did not find them very clear on this point, so he said, "I will write to him and order him to preach the same sermon next Sunday."

In the same manner, I say, these arguments have been used again and again, but it will be necessary to reiterate them until something practical be done, until we make a move to abolish the present system and substitute in its place the system I advocate of Civil Service reform. I think the advocacy of such a system would be eminently worthy of the Empire Club. If the Empire Club will inscribe "Civil Service Reform" on its banner, I think it would become a practical issue and I think it would help to introduce into this country those high ideals which do honour to British officialdom. British officialdom has a reputation for cleanness that commands respect everywhere. We want the same here; we want to aim for high ideals; because the carrying of high ideals into our political life will alone make us worthy of our great heritage, the heritage of the resources of Canada, and of that great Empire, our devotion to which is signified by the name of this Club.

Mr. W. A. Parks, B.A., Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Mineralogy and Geology, University of Toronto.

COBALT MINERAL CONDITIONS.

Address by Professor W. A. Parks, of Toronto University, with stereopticon views, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 15th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It gives me very much pleasure to have the opportunity of addressing this meeting, although I fear the subject may be considered a somewhat hackneyed one. The name of Cobalt is to-day on every tongue. Four years ago the name was practically unknown. Cobalt is distant from Toronto only about 330 miles, and occupies a very conspicuous position in the history of Ontario. On the shores of Lake Temiskaming, Hudson's Bay travellers, and early pioneers of the Roman Catholic Church, over two hundred years ago traversed that district constantly. All the present mining claims are immediately around that lake, and there are found ores of nickel, cobalt, and silver. Silver requires no remark. Nickel has been made familiar to us by the great deposits at Sudbury. The cobalt ore resembles iron in many properties, and is used to alloy steel, giving it much the same character as nickel. The chief use of cobalt is in pigments and stain. The mineral which contains cobalt is arsenide, known as smaltite. It rusts in just the same way that iron rusts, and the rust is known as cobalt bloom, being nothing more than rust produced by the decay of this mineral smaltite. It is a beautiful pink color, very conspicuous and a fine guide for the prospector. Previous to the discovery of cobalt in this region nearly all the world's product was obtained from New Caledonia, but their monopoly is now entirely destroyed.

Cobalt in the ore is worth about forty cents a pound, and many veins in this region would produce $200 a ton in consequence. I have a photograph here of the biggest cobalt vein in the world. There is a cutting through the rock of solid smaltite. That was one of the first veins opened in that region. Cobalt makes the name unique. Silver makes it great. Associated with cobalt to a greater or less extent is native silver in grains and flakes, and even huge masses, weighing 600 or 700 pounds. You can pick up pieces the size of your hand that have been washed out from the cliffs. It seems strange that the Indians had not discovered this, as they were very keen to discover any sort of malleable metal. From these claims there are taken out slabs of silver such as I show you in the diagram—masses of silver that you see here piled up against that wall. Another early mine was the Little Silver Mine and the McKinley Mine. Now the mine is worth several millions, although at one time fifty or one hundred thousand dollars would have been accepted for it. This is my own camp on Cobalt Lake in 1905, situated to-day where the big buildings of the Nipissing Mining Company are standing. Here is a picture of the town of Cobalt at that time. Here, a more recent one. It seemed strange lately to be in a hotel, first-class meals, water from taps, beer from bottles, at a time only two years later than when we had to go in and carry our packs on our backs from Haileybury. In the spring of 1905 word had gone forth of the richness of the country. It was then the rush of prospectors began. The advance seen during that year is shown by the map, where the region is extended until it embraces an area three miles each way. The rich section is about three miles square, and most of the rich veins are situated in that area—not all. Occasionally a rich one is found on the borders.

The most of the rich veins are really located in that area. It is no exaggeration to say that you can walk right along on the top of solid silver in many places in this region. And the big vein recently discovered on the Nipissing property is certainly wonderful, five feet wide at one place, running from forty to fifty per cent. silver. Practically the same thing may be said of the whole area described. Ore running two thousand dollars a ton is common, three thousand dollars is well known, and, of course, ore might be selected that would run almost to pure silver. This big nugget at my hand was raised from the La Rose mine, weighs 610 pounds, and is practically pure silver. It is worth anywhere from three to four thousand dollars, according to purity. It was raised by one single lift of the bucket in that mine, and, of course, we have heard more recently of great masses of ore that have been taken out from the Nipissing property. Here, is a photograph of the mines which are actually shipping ore. It is very difficult to say how many. At that time there were said to be twenty-two; there may be more now. Up to the end of October, I am told by Mr. T. W. Gibson, of the Bureau of Mines, there had been shipped $4,500,000 worth of ore, that is including nickel and cobalt, calculated at a value in the ore, not as a fine product.

How are these properties worked? They are very rich; the veins are small and a large mining plant is not essential. The work can be carried on upon a small scale. Hand mining is largely employed. The ore as it comes from the shaft is hand-picked, and graded into three grades, first, second, and third-class ore. First-class ore running $2,000 or $3,000 a ton, second-class a little less, and so on down the scale. One very remarkable feature may be seen in Cobalt that I have never seen in any other mining camp, and that is, that mines are in advance of the facilities for treatment of the ore. In most mining regions capitalized companies are formed and expensive machinery is put in before they have ore to treat. In Cobalt, they have ore already mined before they have machinery to treat it. This is, no doubt, the proper way. This is mining by open trenches. It is not good mining practice, but it is a very easy way to get the ore out. Some underground mining—the proper method—is being done; in fact, the better equipped mines are doing deep mining. To indicate the advance in the general development of that region in these two years, I show you buildings grown up, and the town of Cobalt, as it is, with some six thousand people, although I think that number is doubtful. Here is the dump on the La Rose mine, the waste rock, so to speak, but many a man would be very glad if he had that waste rock, because he would not need to work any more.

To show the advance again from that time, I will mention another of the veins. It is the Little Silver vein. The property has produced $300,000 worth of silver. It belongs now to the Nipissing Company, being absorbed by that concern. They have mined right through the hill, cut the vein right out and extracted about $300,000 worth of silver from that alone. I would like to speak of the possibilities of prospecting in this region. It seems rather remarkable that even after the first few claims were discovered others did not rapidly follow. It is because the country is so much covered with soil. Here is a photograph of Cobalt near the railway. You can see there are twenty or thirty feet of soil overlying the country. That seems to be universally true. There are ten to twelve feet of soil, very hard boulder clay in some parts, and gravel in others. In any event, the outcrop is hidden, and it seems remarkable how much it is hidden. Take the Foster mine for instance. The Foster property, as you all know, is intersected by a great number of veins. These have all been found by cutting trenches through the overlying soil and finding them in that way, and yet on the Foster property there is considerable bare rock, but on the rock a vein has never been located. The surface of the rock is ground down very flat. This has been brought about by the passage of glaciers over the country during the glacial period, and as a result the veins, where they crop out, lie flush with the surface.

You may ask me what the prospector has to guide him in searching for these ores. First, no doubt, the geological structure of the country. Briefly, up there we find three or four different kinds of rock. In the first place, there is a series of rocks which are universally tilted up on edge. They have been squeezed in some remote period. They are mostly green schists, mixed with green eruptives, and they form a large part of the rocks. To that formation the name Keewatin is given. After the lapse of some period of time, during which the surface of the rocks was ground down, there was deposited a second series of rocks known as the Lower Huronian. These are very largely volcanic ashes mixed with beds of gravel, which have become consolidated into conglomerate, and between the ashes of the rocks and the coarse conglomerate or pudding-stone rock, there are all sorts of intermediate varieties. We may obtain rocks from the finest grained kind up to coarse conglomerates. Regarding the origin of this conglomerate, it is very difficult to speak. The conglomerate is of a remarkable kind. It contains round pebbles and angular pebbles. How these two could be cemented into the same rock is more or less of a geological puzzle. One explanation is, that away back in that ancient time there was an ice age; that these pebbles were worn by ice. If this is true, we have an explanation. I have searched for pebbles showing icy action, but I have never found any, although I believe they have been found, and I believe they represent an ice age much later than that in which the lower ones were deposited.

It is very largely in these rocks that silver and cobalt ores are found. There is one other thing that seems to be essentially geological for these ores, and that is, masses of eruptives—such a rock as the farmers in the country gather up and call green hardheads. The presence of this eruptive seems to be the real cause of the enrichment of these rocks with the ores of cobalt and silver. The formation of mineral veins has always been a matter of dispute. The most distinguished geologists have not settled the matter yet, but the most popular idea now is that mineral veins have been filled by water, which exuded from these molten rocks. Lava is always filled with steam, and it is but a short step to say that all these volcanic or eruptive rocks were filled with steam. When they began to cool, steam would gradually escape and work its way up in the crevices and therein deposited the valuable minerals.

(The speaker here showed a piece of conglomerate.) At Cobalt, these various rocks are distributed in the manner indicated in this photograph. At Cobalt Lake, all this darker region is Lower Huronian rock, conglomerates, slates, etc. This light striated portion that you see here is the Keewatin rock which there comes to the top. This portion is a great mass of eruptive. You see the difference. At certain places Keewatin rock is at the top, and at other places the eruptive rock is at the top, and in the richer you have the Lower Huronian rock at the surface. The question is, are the ores confined to the Lower Huronian rock? It was first thought that they occurred in nothing else, but it has been proven that they occur also in the eruptive, because veins have been found going right through the eruptive rock as well as through the Huronian. Therefore, it is possible to find veins in both eruptive and Huronian rock. Again, some of the ores really occur in the Keewatin. If that is the case, there is no reason to imagine that the Lower Huronian is essential for the occurrence of these ores. The thing that is essential is the proper amount, and the right kind of eruptive, because it is from the eruptives that the right conditions exist for obtaining this ore.

What are the chances for the spread of the area? Are we going to have the thing restricted in area, or is it going to be spread over the whole country? Here is a general map of the country. The Lower Huronian rocks are known to extend clear across in this direction, away over to the Height of Land, and passing into Quebec. The Lower Huronian rocks certainly extend that far. Do these Huronian rocks contain the necessary eruptive? In many places they do. It is quite safe to say that the geological conditions essential to the presence of these ores are very much more widely spread than the township of Coleman. Now, Cobalt is the index of cobaltiferous formation—cobalt bloom. Does it necessarily follow that we must find silver? At Cobalt, cobalt accompanies the silver ore almost universally. Where you find cobalt you have a chance of finding silver. It is well to remember that over a wide extent of country there are proper indications of cobalt.

At Cobalt, there are capitalized at present, roughly, thirty companies, which conservative estimates will say are good companies, and which have a prospect of turning out ore. Many of these are shipping and there may be more. These thirty companies are capitalized at about $40,000,000, and there are a number of close corporations not capitalized at all—many of them some of the best producers in the country. Putting these at $10,000,000, that makes a total capital of $50,000,000 for the companies which are almost certain to pay, to some extent at least. We must add to this a longer list of companies which have not paid any dividends, which have no definite silver veins in sight, which are floated on the market in the prospect that they may find some. I do not wish to say that these companies are all "wildcats." Some of them are legitimate companies, in possession of mineral land in the vicinity of Cobalt, from which they hope valuable veins may be obtained. However, they are not paying at present. The capitalization of these, altogether, is $30,000,000, probably more—doubtless more at the present moment, so that a very conservative estimate of the capitalization is $80,000,000.* Now, the veins are small, comparatively speaking, and it is a reasonable assumption that ten years' active mining will mine out most of the veins that are now working. Take a million dollars as a basis, ten years is the limit of time for mining, and in order to return the capital, evidently $100,000 a year must be mined for every $1,000,000 of capital for ten years. No mining operation will pay under twenty per cent., considering the risk and difficulty of transportation.

Instead of saying twenty per cent. say fifteen per cent., in order to make up for the return of capital which we are putting back at the rate of one hundred thousand dollars a year. That means, at fifteen per cent. that the mine must produce $150,000 a year, to pay interest and a reasonable profit. That means, that for every million dollars of capital we must produce $250,000 a year, or in all, $2,500,000 worth for every million dollars worth of capital. That means, therefore, that the whole region at the capitalization we have given it must produce $20,000,000 a year, or it must produce $200,000,000 in the ten years that we give it to be worked out. Now, although we cannot proceed on that basis because some of these companies are selling away above their capitalization, many others are selling far below it. But it is not fair to them, that we put it in that way, such being the required output, that is to say, $200,000,000. Let me see what the output really is up to date. There has been produced in all $4,500,000 of silver, cobalt, and nickel, altogether $4,500,000. The output is increasing, of course, and I am informed by Mr. Gibson that in the month of October there were mined 1,120 tons of ore, which represent one million dollars, so that the month of October produced one million dollars. Our figures require $20,000,000 a year, therefore, at the present production we fall $8,000,000 a year short of the necessary output, and, furthermore, we must remember that that production of $12,000,000 is from just a few of the very best mines, and the great majority of them are not paying anything. It is a wonderful region, and is one of the richest spots on the face of the earth, but over-capitalization and over-sanguine investors are apt to cause the usual mining boom, and the usual depression which follows it. The newspapers have been warning us against this possibility, and I would like to close by saying that we must be careful not to be led away by the fact that some of these properties are very valuable and selling at a high figure, because there is just as sure to be a fall as there has been a somewhat inflated rise in the case of some of these companies.

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* NOTE.—Estimates in 1907 would make this total at least $250,000,000.—Editor.

THE REV. DR. G. M. MILLIGAN, TORONTO.

IMPERIALISM.

Address by the Rev. Dr. G. M. Milligan, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 22nd, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I appreciate very much the invitation that came from this Club to me to address you. I suppose you like to hear various sides of life, and call upon men who are engaged in various pursuits in such a way that they are supposed to emphasize particular features of life more than men not in their callings would do. I suppose you like to have the merchant, and the lawyer, and the doctor, and various callings in life, to set before you the various elements that constitute the well-being of a nation, and among others, I suppose, the Minister ought to emphasize certain things very specially; and that we are apt, perhaps, in a young country with abounding material resources not to give the prominence to this that we might, until it may be too late. When invited, I pondered on what I should speak to you about, and finally I thought that the best thing I could do was to speak on the theme mentioned: "Imperialism and the Balance of Power." Union is strength when it is based on what is the nature of things. If it depends upon any external support it is necessarily artificial and doomed to a transient duration. The purposes of men in combining vary with varying conditions. Sometimes the purpose of combining is military, sometimes commercial, sometimes political, and sometimes a blend of all. The idea is, however, to secure a system of elements and relationships of a political, commercial or other kind, and having secured that system to strive to maintain it in as stable a condition of equilibrium as possible. That is what is meant by the balance of power.

It is no new thing, this balance of power, although some suppose it to be only two hundred years old. It got a great development in the 17th century, but in the nature of things when men gather together in communities, sooner or later they will feel called upon to make combinations of one sort or another. Varying situations compel men to exercise organizing ingenuity and enterprise. Ancient Corinth, for example, had a position of such maritime importance that she was forced to seek allies to protect her commercial interests and to secure her political influence and existence, and that is just an example of what is true in after times and the same purpose is what has animated men, whether it be on a large scale or on a small, in this matter of seeking organization for mutual good and trying to make it as secure as possible, trying to secure as stable an equilibrium as possible and thus working for the balance of power for the good of these communities.

Our own age is a remarkable age in the genius of organization. Britain has been specially marked for this in the way of colonization. She seems to be of all nations the one most calculated to colonize. God seems to have given different missions to different nations. He gave to the Greeks the mission of educating the world in art and in philosophy; to the Romans he gave the genius of jurisprudence; to the Hebrews, religion, and to Britain the genius for colonization. And it says a great deal for our nation that that is the case because it shows that she must have rich, broad, catholic elements as her basis before she could be the power she is among all kinds of nationalities and to enable them to live under that grand flag that I see you have here, and to feel that they are not humiliated, and not despotized over; but that they are able to maintain their autonomy in all that is reasonable; to be men and yet to be loyal Britons in a civilization where they have the security of law and the security of property.

The instinct of man at first left to himself is isolation. When men first met each other they did not look upon each other as brothers; they came down to the river bank (*rivis,* a river) and what did they call themselves?

Brothers? No, rivals, showing that man instinctively distrusts man,—remarkable thing. The Greeks called everybody that spoke not their own tongue, "Glottis"—gibberish, and the Chinese had maps with all the details of their own empire and then outside deserts unknown. Man has not believed much in the improvability of the human species. General Sheridan said that he had met only one good Indian, and that was a dead Indian. Men have not been optimists in the matter of the improvableness of humanity. Even Plato said that "only Greeks should be free men. Serfdom is the fate of all other races but the Greeks. We only have the endowments." He judged by the present developments and by exceptional developments there. But the thoughts of men have widened with the process of the suns, and they have found that there are developments in other races than the Greeks, in which men will show an improvableness that proves that God's ways in endowing men have been higher than their ways. We are all prone to become egotistical. One advantage about a college education is that men blend together and come into attrition with their fellowmen, whereas, if a man gets his knowledge among people of narrower experience, he grows up to believe in his own infallibility. During the time of the Peninsular War, one old Scotch woman said to another: "How is it that our soldiers always win the day?" "Oh, because our soldiers pray." "But, don't the French pray?" "They gibbering bodies pray? Wha would understand them if they did pray?" (Laughter.) Well, we laugh at that, and yet there is a great deal of that sticking to us all.

Whenever we see, gentlemen, any large variety of manifestations, you may be sure that at the core of it there is a rich and powerful cause. Complexity is a mark of excellence, whether it be in the realm of Nature, or in the realm of humanity. Whenever you see things living together in unity, and whenever you see multiformity of manifestation you will find at the centre of it there is some great sustaining power. That has always been the instinct of the scientist and the philosopher. Sir Isaac Newton saw the heavens above and things happening beneath and the thought struck his mind, "I wonder if there is any one force explanatory of this?" And, at once it struck him, "Yes, the falling of the apple," and so he got the conception that under great variety we are to seek unity and that

> "The very law that moulds the tear
> And bids it trickle from its source,
> That law preserves the earth a sphere
> And guides the planets in their course."

Thus we should always seek the cause, the great universal principle. The same is true in regard to man. Wherever you see a nation that can gather together a colonial empire such as Britain has, and develop a loyalty in these, and have the sway that she has in India, with all her faults there must be some grand, sound material, and some great element of power that we should do well to study more than we do. Wherever you are going to have a true association among men; you must seek that association in broad, essential, intrinsically natural lines. There are two kinds of combination, gentlemen; there is the combination of organization and there is the combination which consists in an organism. The combination of organization is quite legitimate, but it is very temporary if it is only organization. It may be legitimate for certain purposes. Organization lives in the dry life of mere utilitarian purposes. A few of us may organize for some particular end—the transmission of goods to certain points—that is organization. The aim of organization is purely and simply utilitarian and, therefore, must have a temporary existence. An organism is that which consists of a body with many members pervaded by one life and pervaded in such delicate relations that if one member rejoices, all rejoice, and if one suffers, all suffer. That is an organism. And, an organism does not exist for an organization, for mere utilitarian ends. It exists for ultimate ends, for ends of righteousness, for ends of liberty, for ends of humanity—that is an organism. The home belongs to that; the church belongs to that; the state belongs to that. Take even the conception of a merchant. What is a merchant? A merchant is a man who gives himself to the efficient development of the earth's resources and their equitable distribution—a very high calling. Do you think that that can be done on mere utilitarian principles? For a while; but I need not go and tell you men in this room that the very nerve of business is trust. So when one of our banks got into trouble all the other banks stepped in, because, if the people lose trust in one another everything is gone. The very nerve and power of all institutions in this world and the next is trust, and so you see it is not simply, gentlemen, for the next world that you and I are to become religious. It is for this world. You are merchants; I am a minister; another is a lawyer, but we are all ministers in our various spheres and, I hope, able ministers, of glorious privileges and glorious rights, if we are true to them.

Now, I have suggested what I wanted specially to get at. There are certain things for us to do. In the first place, we are to work for the unification of our great Empire. How are we to unify it? If you and I are in business and have little collisions, how are we to get unified. By doing right and being brotherly and square with one another. Very well, your motto is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire. There, you see, is solidarity, an organized corporate existence, and it is by the development of the best traditions and the best examples of British history; by taking them over in our own new conditions and making them our guiding principles. In that way we are to develop the interest in Canada which will tend to the unifying of the Empire, and it is a very short business. You cannot unify a nation or anything long unless it is based upon the principles of righteousness, humanity, and disinterested service. Then everything will go well. It is just as true as preaching (all preaching is not true, but this is): " Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things (the temporalities) will be added to them." Have you ever found a country where the people all desired to pay their debts, where the people were frugal, where there was no snobbishness, did you ever find a people like that other than prosperous? Is not that the kind of people that we are seeking to bring into this land?

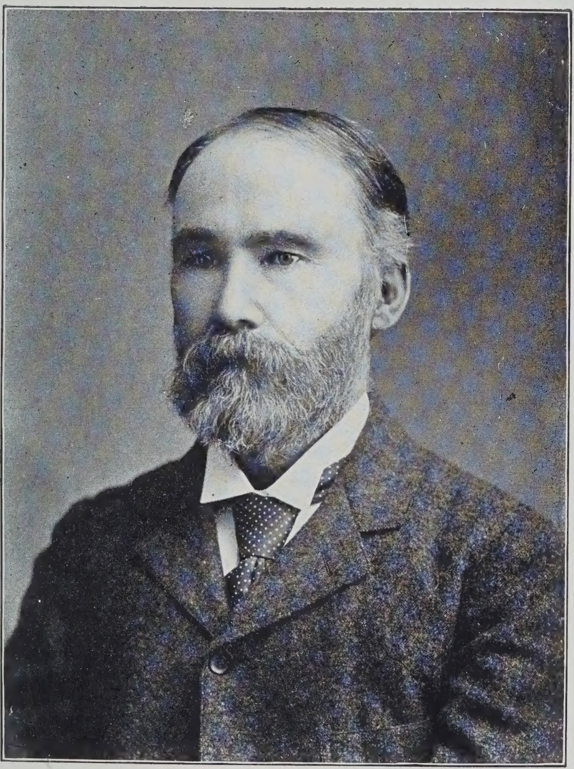
And if I had time I should like to speak about this matter of emigration. We cannot be too careful in respect to those we bring into our country. I was in Detroit in the year 1869, and the Americans used to boast, " We will take in anything, we can assimilate anything." They know to-day that that is not true. People to-day are rushing at things as if they were the last of the race, that they must gather up everything so that there will be no fragments left. There is no need to gobble up all the forests, all the deer and so on. There are others to come, we are not the last of the species. We want to fill up the country with a people that have the genius of the British people. Brethren, the world has got to be a small place. Quantitatively, the ends of the earth are getting very much nearer, but the world is getting to be a bigger place every day qualitatively—a more complex world, a more intense world. The leaven that is leavening this world for good or for bad is getting an intensity in our day that it never had before. It is the day of larger ideas; little Canadianisms and such things will not do now. The United States has felt the need of international relations and obligations, and we are now in connection with the greatest of nations in this respect, and she has a sea power that must give her transit over the sea. Rome had her great roads all focussing upon Rome; all radiating from Rome. The meaning of pontiff (from pontifex), is a bridge-maker, and the great poet that brings men together nearer and nearer is a pontiff. Everything that catholicizes men, that universalizes men, is a pontiff, and so this Canada of ours may be a great bridge-maker to Britain for the East, some day and sooner than we know, and let us in our different spheres be a bridge-builder for that great Empire, to give her the right-of-way that she will sorely need.

And then another thought to this idea of unification of the Empire is the development of the Empire—to develop this imperial unit as we call it—for it is only the beginning, how shall we develop it? Now, Mr. President, ideas, if they simply hang in the air as beautiful sentiments and interesting theories, will never affect anybody but children; ghosts affect only children. I believe that if an idea is to become a power it must become institutional. Our aim should be to keep up a British connection, no matter what happens. I am sorry that my friend, Professor Wrong, writes as he does to the "Spectator." I am sorry because he should not write those things, and his idea is wrong as well as his name, and in this case two wrongs do not make a right. (Laughter.) But, brethren, we must not talk when difficulties come up, of leaving Britain. You have heard of the old Scotch servant who was born in the manor house before his young master came. They had some little difficulty and the master said, "Well, we will have to part, Andrew." "Eh? and Mr. James, where are you going?" He had no idea himself of going anywhere else. Now that is our idea about Britain. Of course, there have been unfortunate things, but we have not been appreciative of this country ourselves. We could have had Alaska if we had been half awake, and if Mackenzie Bowell had had a bigger head on his shoulders we could have had Newfoundland. And if we make mistakes, what may we expect of men thousands of miles away and who have all those European complications to watch.

I tell you, British statesmen have no easy task. These Britishers have to look out. If the Conservatives are in power they have to look out for the Radicals; if the Radicals are in power they have to look out for the Conservatives. And yet, somehow or other, it is by that strange combination, that centrifugal combination that the planets are preserved in their orbits and the atmosphere is composed of nitrogen and oxygen in such a perfect blend (some Scotchmen know what that means.) They just get things about right in that good old country. It is a wonderful country. I never leave it but I come away an optimist. We must on no account let it enter our heads that we are going to part. The world is a big place qualitatively to-day and it requires all people of the same political aims, of the same national genius, more and more to draw closer to each other as the years go on. I believe in keeping the British Empire in closest unity in all its parts. There are some men who come away from the Old Country and stay away twenty years, but they get the old local newspaper which tells of the happenings in their little district. They have in reality never left it. Now, let us try to have information about Australia, about South Africa, about New Zealand, so that it will circulate all through the colonial ramifications. Let us know each other and understand each other and feel that it is our duty to cultivate that family feeling that ought to exist and to do all we can in every way.

Do the people sing here in their homes? What a great thing are the songs of the people. We used to sing when we were boys, "There is no luck about the house when the good man is awa." I don't know that they would sing that in this day of women's rights! The father made them believe he was infallible. There were no divided councils; what father said was law. Now, that is a magnificent thing. A man came out to this country and they asked him something about fine pears. "Well, I was brought up in a country where the fine things were given to the father, and when I came out here the fine things were given to the children, so I am no judge." I presume that the Ten Commandments will have to hold on, and one of them is "Honour thy Parents." Let us devise all the means that we can to be a member of that great family. It will require, as I say, patience and faith—but take her all in all with all her faults, when you come to think of the authority of law; of the equitable treatment of men; when you think of all these qualities and of her past history, are you not proud of our connection with such a glorious empire? And so we shall go on from time to time, training our children in British history and trying to inoculate them with the genius of British emancipation and liberty.

"And let us be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing;
Learn to labour and to wait."



THE HON. GEORGE W. ROSS, M.P.P., LL.D.
Leader of the Ontario Liberal Opposition.

THE POLITICAL CLEAVAGE OF A CONTINENT.

Address by the Hon. George W. Ross, LL.D., M.P.P., lately Prime Minister of Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 29th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Your Chairman is going a little fast for my notion of things. I do not want to be the "Grand Old Man of Ontario" for about ten or fifteen years anyway. It is sufficient for me to be a middle-aged man with juvenile inclinations and predilections. I am very glad to meet the Club. I know of its work. I had the pleasure of speaking before this Club some time ago. I have read carefully the published volume of your annual addresses, and congratulate you upon your successes and your enterprise in preserving in a permanent form the matter which is sometimes delivered after a great deal of preparation in the form of an address. I do not speak of what I am going to say to-day, as it is of a less solid and less substantial nature than the addresses usually given at this Club. I was asked to go over in such form as might be convenient for me, the main features of an address I delivered at a convocation at Chicago University three or four years ago. I there intended or attempted to show that there was a natural, a political, a commercial cleavage between Canadian America (or British America) and United States America, and I endeavoured to prove from the historical method that proposition. I am not here going to discuss the question of annexation or independence. Let the facts of history speak for themselves. Let us see what trend there is in our history which has led us so far on our way, or is there any trend at all?

All readers of history know that the trend of things in a country determines its future. In the United States you have a democratic trend which has led up to this day to public ownership. You have in England a constitutional trend, which gave us the Petition of Rights. The great Revolution of 1688 gave us responsible government, and if you look into the history of almost any country in Europe, that has reached to any position, you will find dating back some political trend that has led to a certain goal. There has been a trend, in my judgment, in the history of this continent—by the peoples occupying the two sides of the boundary between Canada and the United States. The first trend given to the political history of this continent was by the Rebellion of 1776, or rather by the Grand Remonstrance, as they called it, or the Declaration of Rights, issued by the Philadelphia Congress which met in 1774. Up to that time the greater part or the whole of this continent was practically divided between England and Spain, and by the Declaration of Rights, the thirteen Colonies indicated their discontent with their relations to Great Britain, and, after declaring the grounds of their discontent, they remonstrated with Great Britain for the passing of the Quebec Act of 1774, the Act by which very favourable terms were given to the French race and by which concessions were made to the French language, notably by which concessions were given to the Roman Catholic religion; and in that Declaration of Rights language was used of a very strong and offensive character towards the religion which was practised and professed by the great French-Canadian population of Canada. That expression in the Declaration of Rights was accepted by the clergy of Lower Canada as offensive to the race and offensive to the religion, and their sympathies, instead of going out with the thirteen Colonies, as people would naturally expect, particularly when the thirteen Colonies were backed by the French Government, were thrown in with Great Britain. That was the first bias given to public opinion on the continent of America, a bias given by the very people themselves who wanted the support of the French-Canadians, and who wanted all the assistance that Canada could give.

Now, a few years passed by, and events crowded upon each other very rapidly. When the Revolutionary War came on, the next force that determined to a great extent public opinion on our side of the line was the expulsion of the United Empire Loyalists from the United States, under great hardships and cruelty of the most inexcusable character; that projected into Canada a population of forty or fifty thousand people, and having been scattered, as they were, from the Atlantic sea-coast to the Western part of Ontario, they were a strong factor in affecting public opinion. The effect was to develop a strong opinion in Canada favourable to the British Government, and that opinion gained in force from time to time, and is really perhaps an active factor in the history of Canada at the present moment. The next event was the War of 1812, which was a war of the United States against Great Britain, in which Canada was involved and suffered severely. The city of Toronto was burned down. There were fierce battles on the Niagara Peninsula and in the Province of Quebec. The resentment against Americans in Canada, because of provoking that war, was great, and the fact that the Canadians allied themselves with the Imperial forces endeared that country to Canadians as it had not been before. Up to this time Canada had come into our possession largely by Imperial power. It was the British forces that captured Quebec. It was under British institutions that the Loyalists were settled here at an expenditure of three million pounds.

When the War of 1812 came on, Canada took a hand and paid part of its expenses on Canadian soil with her own money, and with her own sons fought for her own independence. And to show you the attitude, even of the Province of Quebec, let me state that the year before war was declared, as you will see in D. B. Read's history of the Rebellion, that the Quebec Government contributed 12,000 pounds (and that was a considerable sum in those days) for drilling the militia, and gave 24,000 pounds additional towards incidental expenses of the militia and mustering the forces, and gave

30,000 pounds more in case war should break out, and in the year of the war they voted altogether $1,000,000 to the war, and 15,000 pounds toward the redemption of the army bills which were to be issued. That was the contribution of the Quebec Legislature, and it showed the spirit of the people of Quebec in the inauguration of that war. I believe the Province of Ontario suffered more material loss than the Province of Quebec. I mention this to show that the War of 1812, which did so much to develop a Canadian feeling, was a war not provoked by Great Britain, not provoked by Canada, but which was a war that solidified the Canadian sentiment. Bismarck said, in 1870, that he wanted to solidify the German Empire, which he had then founded, with blood and iron, and it is said that the Civil War of the United States was the first thing to consolidate the great American Union. The War of 1812 did a good deal to solidify British opinion in the Dominion of Canada up to 1837, when we had a little rebellion of our own.

I do not propose discussing the pros and cons of that, but to say that in that rebellion of our own, which was merely a local concern, although the American people took no part in it, there was a tendency amongst them to assist the rebels. A raid was made at Detroit, at Navy Island, and similar threatenings were made along the frontier farther east. There again the Canadian feeling which was loyal to Great Britain felt itself being pressed farther and farther in its loyalty by the attacks from the American frontier. We go to the Civil Rebellion of 1860, and see what we find there. We find that there came out of that the Fenian invasion of 1866, uncalled for and unjustified. We find arising out of that the commercial abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, in order to check the large growth of trade between Canada and the United States. It was felt that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was very favourable to Canadians; that we were making more money than the United States made out of it. The trade had grown from $14,000,000 to about $84,000,000 in the twelve years during which the Treaty existed; but that was not the only reason for repealing the Reciprocity Treaty. The Americans, as you will understand, were annoyed at the attitude of Canadians, and particularly the attitude of Great Britain, toward the United States during the Civil War. In Great Britain the sympathy of the leaders of public opinion for some time was decidedly in favour of the Southern States. You remember the speech made by Mr. Gladstone; you remember the expressions of opinion by Lord Palmerston and others; and you remember, also, that the Emperor of France proposed to the British Government that the Southern States should be declared a nation. Of course, the British Government very wisely acted with prudence and care in the matter, and declined to go that far. We are very glad they did not go that far. The British people all over the world are glad they did not go that far, for had they declared the Southern States independent, there is no doubt that there would be two Republics on this continent to-day instead of one, and it is better, I think, that it should be one rather than two, for we have slavery abolished, which we would not have had, and we have a wider scope for the working out of a democracy on higher lines than otherwise we might. It is sufficient for my present purpose that we have got rid of slavery through the Civil War.

The Americans felt that the British Government was friendly to the South, and as one way of showing their resentment, the Reciprocity Treaty was repealed, because, by repealing that Treaty, Canada was struck at a very tender point. As a proof that that was part of the object, let me quote from the Reminiscences of Secretary Boutwell, in dealing with the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and if you refer to the speeches as made in Congress at that time, you will find many proofs of a similar character. "Whether the annexation of Canada shall take place in a short time or be postponed remotely depends, probably, on our action upon the subject of reciprocity." So that he had in mind the annexation of Canada, in dealing with the subject. " Canada needs our market and our facilities for ocean transportation, and as long as these advantages are denied to her, she can never attain to a high degree of prosperity." This was from a member of the United States Government: " The body of farmers, labourers, and trading people will favour annexation ultimately, should the policy of non-intercourse be adhered to on our part, and they will outnumber the office-holding class. It is apparent, also, the policy of free intercourse would postpone annexation for a long time, if not indefinitely." It was believed that free intercourse would prevent annexation, and that by crippling our trade, we would be forced into that position. That question of trade seems to crop up in the American journals every little while. Let me quote from the New York *Commercial* of a few days ago. " The filial feeling alone binds Canada to the Mother Country, and not unity of commercial interests. She does not add one iota to the wealth or strength of England, but merely to her *prestige*. Canada's present system of government is doomed and cannot last, and the coming generation will probably see the great Dominion swing into line and become an integral part of the Union. Everything is tending to the peaceful absorption of our great Northern neighbour."

I have referred to the Reciprocity Treaty as an event that separated the two countries. We are speaking now of one wedge after another that created a certain feeling on the Canadian side and which I will refer to more methodically a little later on. The repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty was a great disadvantage to us for the time being. We had to abandon the American market to a great extent, although it is perhaps far more our market at the present moment than it ought to be. We had to get away from it at that time and the effect was depressing in Canada, but while the resulting feeling was one of resentment, we simply said: "Now if this is an attempt to cripple our trade, we will see about it"; and immediately our commercial men sought other markets, and sought a permanent market not liable to a passing vote of Congress, nor to be made the subject of a Presidential campaign. They sought the markets of Europe, and let our trade be in that direction, so that we would be independent of the passing passion of an American Presidential election and trade with people who are not disposed, from any pique or ill-feeling, to hamper us in our business. We did open these European markets, so that we were, in an extent, independent of the relations with the United States. We have made as many propositions on our side of the line to the United States for reciprocity as I think is consistent with our dignity, and if the negotiations are to be opened for any further Reciprocity Treaty, let them be opened on the American side.

I see an easy way of facilitating trade between Canada and the United States without any treaty at all. If they want more of our produce on easier terms, let them lower their duty and I suppose they can get it, and unless that is done, I would receive, with a very great deal of hesitation, any consideration of reciprocity at all. That, to my judgment, ought to be the first move and besides, I am bound to say that I look upon a treaty with considerable doubt in any case. What does a treaty mean? It means—say that it lasts for ten or fifteen years—it means that during those years trade assumes a certain direction because of that treaty. The treaty may be repealed at a time when it will be very embarrassing to one of the parties. Suppose we should enter into a treaty that was found by the United States Government, ten or fifteen years hence, to be too favourable to Canada; when our trade has moved in that direction, and transportation system been made to adapt itself to their system, the treaty would be repealed greatly to our inconvenience. Let us consider any treaty with great care, and in the meantime let us so establish our trade as to be independent of any nation in particular and so broaden our exports that we may cover the seven seas, if necessary, and enter all the markets of the world; and then it does not matter who proposes or opposes reciprocity, but there will be developed a public opinion which, I think, will be a good thing for Canada. Nothing is so good for the people as to be made to stand upon their own feet; as to feel that their political, commercial, or national life is in nobody's except their own keeping. Our trade is now in our own keeping, and let us keep it.

Then there came a great diversion because of that little Mason and Slidell episode. How, contrary to the declaration of the United States in 1812, Captain Wilkes took from the ship *Trent* two Southern Confederates and thrust them into prison. There was a great commotion in England over the matter. When he read of it, Lord Palmerston called a meeting of Council that day, after the announcement was made, and, walking with a firm step towards the upper end of the table, he said, " Gentlemen, I don't know whether you will stand this or not, but I will be damned if I do." That was his brusque John Bull style of doing things, and I rather like that style of thing myself. But the effect of that, at all events, was to intensify the Canadian feeling because it brought back to our own memory the War of 1812, brought on by the Americans because Britain had seized American seamen on board the American ships, which the United States said was contrary to the laws of neutrality. When they seized American men on British ships, they would not accept the sauce which was as good for the goose as for the gander.

Now, that brings me down to the War of 1866. Several things have happened running through all these times which also tended to intensify Canadian feeling. I think the Tariff Acts—the McKinley Bill, the Dingley Bill, those measures to shut out Canadian trade, apparently to punish us, to prevent us from trading with the United States on such terms as seem to be reasonable—have not had a soothing effect, but rather, as I said before, thrown us back upon our own resources, to lead us to say, " If you don't propose to trade with us on reasonable terms, we will find somebody who will." The Ashburton Treaty, by which we lost Maine, was not a source of pleasure; the Oregon Treaty, by which we lost the State of Oregon, which we should not have lost, I believe, was not very satisfactory to us; and the attempt to prevent Canadian sealers from fishing in the Behring Sea, was not very pleasant to us. The settlement of the Alaskan boundary did not suit exactly our feelings. The moral seems to be that in all negotiations with Great Britain from the time that Franklin negotiated the Treaty of Peace in 1783, when he wanted Canada, down to the Alaskan boundary, Canada seems to have suffered, we say, partly through British diplomacy, and that is true, but partly through the over-reaching disposition of the Americans in seeking to get by bravado and sometimes by an undertone of something even a little stronger than that, portions of Canada which we think did not righty belong to them. We have suffered at their hands, and we have suffered at the hands of British diplomacy as well; but in the meantime, the effect has been to make a cleavage between the two peoples. They do not want us in trade; they do not want to have the same cordial commercial relations with us; they have over-run our country. All these things have tended towards separation. I mention that in no spirit of bitterness; Canadians are too big to have any feeling of resentment towards Americans or anybody else. We are neighbours and we want to be neighbourly, but I am speaking now of historical facts, and the facts are to blame and not me.

Let us look at the other side. What have we done to build up a sentiment adverse to the American sentiment? We have adopted the British form of government; it is an old form of government; it has been tested for many years; it is less democratic perhaps in some respects, and more in other respects, than the American government. It has the character of age, permanence, durability, stability, and power about it. It is an offshoot of the British constitution. There is no better and no stronger. Then the American policy of aggression upon Canada has always been met by a policy of liberalism on the part of the Canadian—for instance, when the Americans resented the concessions made to the Roman Catholics, these concessions were extended and confirmed and greater liberties were given to Canadians than they had in 1774. Bad as British diplomacy has been in many instances, so far as Canadian territory is concerned, it has been always right in consolidating Canadian public opinion. Had not General Murray been so conciliatory at the capture of Quebec, it is quite possible the French-Canadians would not have stood by the British flag. When the French, and Upper Canada, too, wanted a further extension of responsible government, it was given them in 1791, and when we arose in rebellion in 1837, because Downing Street sought to govern Canada (and it cannot be governed from Downing Street; it can be only by Canada), Downing Street met it by giving us the Union of 1841, solidifying and strengthening Canadian public opinion.

When the Civil War of the United States broke out, and when there was some uneasiness in this country lest we should not stand together, in fragments as we were, every effort was made by the Imperial Government to solidify the Provinces. Of course, the feeling started with ourselves very largely, but if you choose to go back to Lord Durham's report, you will find that our feeling was strengthened by the Imperial Government. Read the political speeches of the times, and you will see that one of the objects of Confederation was to solidify the Provinces for the purposes of defence and trade. There arose the irritation that existed between the Provinces in the matter of customs laws—a system picayune and small, because that was a period of small things. We have outgrown all that, and it was with the utmost alacrity that the British Government assisted in the federation of the Provinces, especially in the purchase of Prince Rupert's Land, now the North-West, and by their assistance, and our own influence, we solidified the whole upper half of North America. On our side there was a spirit of loyalty and confidence binding the provinces more and more to the British Empire. If England had not conceded to us in 1837 a responsible government, what would we have done? What could we have done? What would an independent people have done under the circumstances? I hesitate to think what might have happened. England, believing that British institutions might here be founded worthy of the race, conceded to us what they themselves possessed. They seemed to be willing that we should have all the liberties they had, and in this way the Canadian sentiment which was inherent in us, because of our origin and because of our history, was allowed to grow and develop and expand. What remains? It remains for us just to see if the history has a real trend, as it has apparently an historical trend.

British diplomacy, faulty at times, but on the whole favourable to the establishment of British sovereignty, has created a line of cleavage between the two countries. We stand on the Northern side with prospects equally as great as the American nation had at the beginning of this century and greater. We have double the territory they possessed in the year 1800. It was after that year that they purchased Louisiana, or the territory west of the Mississippi. In Jefferson's time the American States were confined to that portion that lies east of the Mississippi, about half the area of Canada. Since federation we have quadrupled our territory and with our resources and the British stock from which we have sprung, I see no reason why the change which has taken place should not continue. We cannot speak of the future. It is vain to prophesy and to speculate, but we are tending to the British nation on this half of the continent, a land consecrated to British government by British blood, and with all its commercial and social affinities strengthening every day, I trust, the relations existing between this country and the Old Land. It is on this line that I think the future of Canada lies. If we are equal to the development of this country, no Canadian can live in Canada believing that he can do better in the United States or anywhere else. It is for us to do that. We must be equal to the conquest of the land. If we are faint-hearted, the land will fall, perhaps, into the possession of another.

JOURNALISM IN ENGLAND.

Address by Mr. Walter Frewen Lord, M.A., Professor of Modern History at the Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 6th, 1906.

A short period of thirty minutes is allowed to me in which to say something on the subject of English journalism. I shall attempt to deal with this very large order of treating the press of England, in a more or less satisfactory manner, by roughly stating what it is and which are the more influential among the publications; secondly, to estimate what I think is the tendency, the almost universal tendency, of the English press in the direction of the motto of your Club: "The Advancement of the Interests of Canada and a United Empire." The press of England falls quite easily into four classes, the quarterly, the monthly, the weekly and the daily. Of these I should say the quarterlies and weeklies are considerably declining in influence. The Quarterly (Tory) Review and the Liberal Review, etc., are very large, bulky, expensive, and are issued but seldom, and if you take up any of these to-day you will wonder first how anybody could write them, and, secondly, how anybody could read them.

I think these are the reasons why they have declined in influence. At first they were written by extremely interesting men; brilliant men they were who wrote for the quarterlies; men like Sir Edward Hamley, a man of great versatility and great profundity, critic, soldier, artist, man of the world, member of Parliament, etc.; and if I could parallel him on this continent I could illustrate to you what would happen supposing you had a review here to which it was announced that Sir William Van Horne contributed anonymously. That is the

Mr. Walter Frewen Lord, M.A.

Professor of Modern History at the Durham (England) College of Science.

secret of the early success of the great quarterlies. Everyone knew that highly eminent men contributed anonymously. The weakness was that they came so seldom, every three months, and, secondly, that the articles were always unsigned. The great monthlies had the policy that nobody ought to make an anonymous speech or write an anonymous letter; second, that all interests ought to be represented. These two flags being hoisted, the new Reviews rose at once to a dominating position. The monthlies are all following the same lines. People demand, nowadays, signed writing.

Now we come to the weeklies. I think the weeklies have declined for very much the same causes. Weeklies give information too often. Every week is too often to bombard people with editorials. A question of immense importance is that of the great dailies. As you see by to-day's press, *The Times* has been turned into a limited company. That is a great thing in English newspaperdom; almost an earthquake. The power in England is in the daily press, the sixpenny press goes down, and the ha'penny press dominates them all. Harmsworth is known as "Ha'penny-rag," which, I think, is extremely rude. (Laughter.) These publications reach the lower classes of people and supply them with good matter, and we want the lower classes to think like us. I think the Ha'penny press is the greatest blessing we have had in England for a long time. All the new Ha'penny-rags, so called, are strongly literary. Among the older journals, the *Daily Telegraph* is now one of the dominant papers. The *Standard* lately has had many vicissitudes, but has done excellent work. It has taken a very patriotic line and has talked strongly in regard to our abominable poor rates. Gladstone used to say, "John Bull is a terrible person when he is roused, but you can't rouse him with less than an earthquake." The *Standard* took the lead in the matter of securing a reduction in the rates, and the getting rid of these rates was of very great service to the country. Only a paper with heaps of money behind it could dare to do that. The English press, however, has this characteristic, it does not mind what any person says, and that is an important feature of its strength.

How does the British press stand in relation to the Empire? There is a strong and almost universal tendency on the part of these organs to put the Empire above party politics.* Of course, we have our local squabbles about which you know nothing, and plenty of them, and you have your local squabbles about which we know nothing, but we can, of course, both work for the good of the State. I know quite well that some people in England say, "Oh, you will never do that, you will never get the Empire above party politics," but let us consider the advance in the last twenty years and see what great departments have been taken above party politics. Begin with the Navy. Of course, when I was a boy it was a regular thing that where the Tories expend the Liberals economize. They made a great show of economy. Twenty or thirty years ago we might have been rushed by anyone who had a mind to rush us because of the economy on the Navy. A Navy is a very difficult thing to maintain in a state of efficiency. Lord George Hamilton's bill was the greatest determined effort to raise the Navy above party politics. No English party could now dare to tamper with it. The really powerful people now insist that the Navy shall be efficient according to standards decided by experts. No party would attempt to get popularity by keeping down the expenditure of the Navy. That is a rather important point, because it seems to me that so long as you are the greatest maritime power in the world it is only right that this supremacy should be maintained.

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* Upon this general subject Professor Lord writes the Editor under date of October 10th as follows :

"Since delivering my address two events have occurred which nullify a statement of mine, viz., 'The Empire above Politics.' These are the change in the government of London and the management of affairs in South Africa by the Radicals. We Tories said, 'London above Party Politics,' and faithfully followed this noble maxim. But it was not until we made the government of London a party question and expelled the Socialists that we succeeded in getting a decent government for London. It is clear from the behaviour of the Government with respect to Imperial affairs, that we must most distinctly abandon the maxim, 'The Empire above Party.' Every sound Imperialist will have to admit in the future that as regards England the watchword must be, 'The Tories or Ruin.' The Tories do, most, want to keep the Empire together. It is clear to a demonstration that the Radicals desire to destroy it."

There is another point that has been taken above the level of party politics, and that is the administration of India. It has often been said that if India were ever lost it would be lost in the House of Commons. Interfering people who did not understand what they were about went to India and came back and wrote their impressions of things they did not understand. This went on till about fifteen years ago, when it became so ridiculous that the bottom dropped out of that sort of thing with a shout of laughter. Some most respectable, most religious and the most well-meaning people decided that it was wicked for England to sell opium to the people of India, and stated that it had most deleterious effects upon the users, destroying digestion and resulting in moral degeneration. Upon investigation it was found that opium, as a matter of fact, is no more deleterious to those people after dinner than a cup of tea is to us. The Royal Commission, at the expense of twenty thousand pounds, which came out of the pocket of the tax-payer, found that the influence of opium was not demoralizing, and one member of the Commission ventured to move for a Royal Commission to inquire into the influence of whiskey on the natives of England. The subject could be handled only by thoroughly qualified experts. The result is that India has been lifted above party politics altogether. It has civil and religious liberty—that is what the British Empire stands for. Before the English went to India it was the greatest bear-garden in the world. The third great department of political activity which has been raised above party politics is the foreign policy. A friend of mine lost a seat and said to me afterwards: "Old chap, I lost my seat because I said foreign politics should be above party." Lord Salisbury, Lord Lansdowne, Lord

Rosebery, who is a Radical, and the present Secretary, a strong Liberal and a good Foreign Secretary—for no other reason than that he never opens his mouth if he can possibly avoid it; they have all preserved the same foreign policy with regard to England's relations with Europe.

With regard to the direction in which the press is moving. It is moving in a very reassuring manner, very slowly, but at the same time all in the same direction. It is extremely rare, indeed, now, to see men that want to break up the British Empire. They may hum and haw about details, and ask foolish questions, but they do not, as a matter of fact, wish the Empire to break up. The commercial interests are woven together so closely that, to take the lowest ground, it would not be good business. If you ask me what are the agencies directed to fostering the Imperial spirit, I cannot quite say; the best thing I can say is one that I heard from your Chairman: "To properly develop the Imperial question is to insure that the youth of the country shall know what it is; to have your school-children taught what the Empire is; what it is driving at; and when they grow up they will know what they are talking about." I should like very much to know what exact details have been approached and dealt with. Do the children in connection with this subject laugh at you or do they abide by it?

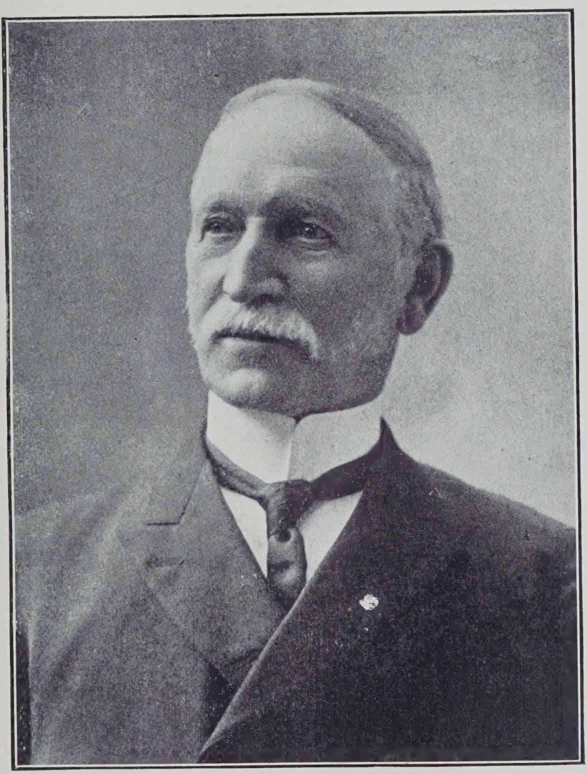
Something along this line has been done in connection with Empire Day. I think, so far, it has been largely carried on outside of the press. A considerable organization is supplying the children in England with flags. The decay of the House of Commons is, I am sorry to say, incontestable, which tends to enhance the power of the press. It occurred to me this year that all the great things of the British Empire had been done without any interference from the House of Commons. For example, all the Indian work, the British East African Company policy, and many other things. These are all material achievements which have been pulled through without the interference of the House of Commons. The House of Commons loves "squabbling" about little petty interests which do not concern anybody outside of England and Ireland. The House of Commons has declined in authority in every respect, and this leaves greater authority to the press. The press has nominally and admittedly done a great deal to foster Imperialistic sentiment. I do not know what there remains for me to say. In my articles in the quarterlies and monthlies I try to be independent and express an independent view, and, by the way, that is one of the great weaknesses of the press. There are so many money interests interwoven in the press that it is very difficult to secure expressions of opinion which are not to some extent affected by these interests.

The question of whether to preserve the Empire or not is practically answered by the name of your Club and your presence here to-day. I look at this country of yours and the size of it. That is nothing; it is the people in the country; that is the important thing; it is what they have done. When I see what you have accomplished in this enormous country and the difficulties you have surmounted; when I see your practically boundless future and prosperity; I can hardly believe that in this great country you could really want to give up connection with the greatest of empires. Then, there is only this one last word that I want to add, if I may, and you see that I speak frankly as an enthusiast—other people speak to you as statisticians or politicians, but for me, I am an enthusiast—I like a man with a good bias, because you can always discount what he says. I wish to refer to your great Universities, which make the soul of this country. When I was writing "The Lost Empires," I said: "The British Empire is not lost yet, but there is no reason why it should not be if sufficiently mismanaged," and the real danger of those people who say that they do not care for England or the Empire, is that they will end by saying, "I do not care for anybody."

Chairman: Mr. Lord has referred to the question of what is being done in our schools, and as Controller

Jones had some experience in this direction not very long ago, I would ask him to kindly inform Professor Lord what the schools have been doing as to disseminating information about the Empire.

Mr. S. Alfred Jones: I can speak only as to what the Ontario schools have been doing. Unfortunately my scope does not extend outside of them. I may say that they give special attention to the Empire geographically, and the larger question of Imperial spirit and aspirations. The flag has been taught very thoroughly; not only are the different British flags explained, but the children are taught to actually construct the flags themselves, and I think I may fairly say that there is no part of the British Empire that gives more prominence to this feature in the curriculum of the schools. The Manitoba Government has taken official action to compel the British flag to be flown from all the schools. The same proposition in England, a short time ago, did not receive the same enthusiastic support.



The Hon. James McMullen.
Senator of Canada.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Address by Senator the Hon. James McMullen, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 13th, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I can assure you that I think I am undertaking a very serious task to attempt to enlighten the audience I see before me—business men of the great commercial centre of Toronto—on the question of "Relations with the United States." We undoubtedly have a very powerful republic to the south of us, a people who are in their legislation, as far as Canada is concerned, very selfish. They are gentlemen when you meet them individually; collectively they can be as small as any other nation of people in the world. We have had relations with them for many years; we had at one time a Treaty that was brought into force in 1854 and lasted till 1866. Under that Treaty, Canada enjoyed a fair share of prosperity and a fair measure of trade with the United States. At the close of their Civil war, they came to the conclusion that Canada had reaped too great advantages under the operations of that Treaty and they abrogated it at the earliest possible moment. After that, and from that time down to the present, we have had legislation, first under the McKinley Bill and second, under the Dingley Bill, that tended to restrict and limit the exportation of all kinds of commodities, whether products or manufactures, to the United States. We have been able to do but a very limited business with them since that time. Under the Cleveland Government there was a little modification, but immediately afterward when the Republican party came into power the Dingley Bill was passed and the result has been that very great restrictions have been imposed upon Canada in the way of sending any of our commodities to the United States.

Our Government, very fortunately, at the time of the passage of the Dingley Bill, turned its face toward the British Isles. We have been doing a very large trade with them and it has increased. I have no doubt that when the Americans passed the Dingley Bill they expected that Canada would come to Washington, and, on bended knee, beg for better trade relations. In place of our Government doing that it turned its face to the British Isles and perfected our cold-storage system, whereby the commodities—the perishable products of our country—can be taken from the point where they are produced, sent across the Atlantic, and placed under the eye of the English consumer in as perfect a condition as they were in when they left the factory. That, coupled with the fact that the Government sent home commercial agents for the purpose of working up trade in Britain, has resulted in a measure of prosperity that even the present Government did not anticipate. Notwithstanding all the restrictions that have been placed upon us by the American people to the South, Canada has unquestionably prospered and we are glad to be able to say that it has. The Americans must not come to the conclusion that Canada is a pauper at their back-door, ready to accept any little concession that may be made us. In all the negotiations that have taken place between Canada and the United States from the close of the Treaty in 1866 down to the present time, the American on every single occasion has stipulated that he should get a dollar's worth of advantage for ten cents in return. Canada has not been prepared to consent to any new treaty of that kind. During the life of the Macdonald Government, they made, I have no doubt, an honest and earnest effort to get better trade relations with the United States. They never succeeded.

During the present Government, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has stated that Canada has shown her face in Washington for the purpose of negotiating better trade relations for the last time, and we all hope that that policy will continue. As I said, Canada has prospered and prospered well. We have made wonderful developments.

We have a very great country, a country that, I believe, is capable of as great developments as the United States, in many lines, and we are glad to know it. We do not want to live in any other relations with the United States but the most cordial and courteous, but we want them to distinctly understand this, that if they expect Canada at any moment to forego her rights and her interests as a Dominion in order to meet any demand they may make, we are not prepared to do anything of that kind. We are a nation of ourselves; we are rapidly forging to the front as such; and we believe that our future will be great as long as we keep in close touch with the Empire to which we belong, and it is our intention to do that. No doubt the Americans are a great people. They have unquestionably developed to an enormous extent. We must not fancy in Canada that we have to ourselves the great wave of development and prosperity. It has been all over this northern continent.

If you take the United States in the matter of manufacturing—in 1895 the United States sent manufactured products abroad amounting to $187,000,000; in 1905 the export manufactured product of the United States was $543,000,000, or a million a day more than it was ten years ago. If you take the money, for instance, in circulation in the United States; in 1887 the money in circulation in that country, in the hands of her people, was $1,867,000,000. The amount of money in circulation on the first of last month was $2,887,000,000. Fancy the enormous increase that she has made. While she has made this enormous increase in the matter of exportation and of manufactured products, and in the matter of circulation of money amongst her people, she has done it under the operation of a high protective tariff. Some people condemn protection, but we are bound to take notice of a nation like the United States, that has made the marvellous development that she has made under its operation. They have some of the smartest, the cutest, the keenest, the most cunning statesmen that the world has ever produced, and we cannot do better in Canada than take a lesson out of her experience. Let us aim at a development along the lines that she has developed. Let us aim at keeping our trade largely for ourselves within the Empire. Let us take everything from England that we can get from her; let us adjust our tariffs so as to give England all the advantage that we possibly can give her; and if there is anything else to purchase outside of the Empire let us endeavour to purchase it from nations that will trade with us. The United States shipped to us last year, $152,000,000 worth of stuff; we sent them only some $70,000,000. Out of that $152,000,000, $70,000,000 was free. The $82,000,000 was dutiable goods. The $70,000,000 was composed largely of corn, of coal, of cotton; certain lines of leaf tobacco, etc., also came in free. I may frankly admit that she need not thank us for taking those commodities from her simply because we cannot conveniently get them from any other place; but we have taken $82,000,000 worth of manufactured products.

Now, let us carefully search the schedule of those products that we have taken, and if we can possibly adjust our tariff so as to give the Empire the advantage or to give any country that is willing to trade with us on equitable terms, the advantage,—I say it is our duty as patriotic Canadians to do it. For my part, I frankly confess that we have a hard country to govern; we have different interests. Our North-West is developing very rapidly. I find that the people of the North-West want to get everything they require, the every-day requirements of life, at the lowest possible price. They do not care very much whether it is manufactured in the United States or whether it is manufactured in Canada, or whether it is manufactured in England. We have spent enormous sums to open up the North-West. Canada stood by the Government in the development that has taken place, in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and now in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific. We are spending enormous amounts of money and we have a right in return, at least, to have the advantage of the Western trade if we can comply with and fill their requirements on as reasonable terms as any other people. We earned that for the course that we have adopted, and we are entitled to it. I would like to educate the people of the West into a feeling that we should above all things cultivate an interprovincial trade, and let each section help the other. Now, if we are to develop at all as a country, we must develop upon five lines: agriculture, manufacturing, lumbering, fishing, and mining. These must all go hand in hand and one must assist the other. There is no country on the face of the earth that ever came to be great and important unless it became a manufacturing country as well as an agricultural country. We must have our manufacturing institutions. We cannot do without them. I never was a believer in an excessive protective tariff, but I do want it so adjusted that our people will have a fair opportunity of succeeding.

The average tariff duty that is imposed upon the people of Canada is about $7 a head. It does not make very much difference to the ordinary individual whether that duty is collected off his boots or his hat or partly off both. If the linen in the bosom of your shirt that comes from the British Isles is put upon the free list, or the duty largely reduced and the duty collected thereon is added to the cloth that is in the body, as long as the shirt is sold at the old price what difference does it make to the wearer? Now, that is the adjustment of the tariff that we want in Canada. We want to adjust it so as to give every producer in this country the advantage. Give him the inside track, and encourage in that way our home institutions. I regret, as I said before, that the present tariff has not gone as far in that direction as I would like to see it go. Still we have, as I intimated, a hard country to govern. I hope the Government may see new light on many lines, and I hope that they will come to realize that while there are many disposed to find fault and complain of the tariff, and of the duties to which they are subjected, such as farm organizations, they ought to be patriotic enough to give to our home people the advantage under all circumstances, or the choice as between them and foreigners.

We live, gentlemen, in a great Empire, the greatest the world has ever seen. There is no people on the face of the earth that enjoy more liberties than we do in Canada. We are the lowest-taxed people that you can hunt up in any part of the civilized world. We make all our own laws. We administer our own laws. Nobody ever interferes with us. If you take, for instance, our taxation regarding defence, military and naval, see how little we pay when compared with other countries. In the British Isles, the individual pays about $8.70 a head of taxes for army and navy. The French pay about $7.80; Germany about $6.65; Russia, before the war, paid $4.46; the Americans to the South of us pay $2.35, and it is increasing very rapidly; while Canada only pays $0.60 a head of its population for the army and navy. Now, gentlemen, I do admit this—we are greatly indebted to England. Every man goes to sleep at night with a feeling that he is absolutely secure and safe. We realize that we belong to a great Empire, that no country on earth would dare to lay a finger upon us, and while we do all that, we contribute very little to the powerful defence that England owns, and that we believe would come to our relief at any moment. I should like very much to see Canada contribute something towards the British navy. (Applause.) I think it would be right that we should do so. No doubt they have a very powerful navy, but I think Canada should, by a respectable donation each year, show her willingness to contribute to the support of that navy, until such time as we commence to get the nucleus of a navy for ourselves; and I hope that will be a very long time. As long as we enjoy all the privileges that we do enjoy at this moment, we would be fools to alter our relations because we cannot be happier, more contented, or have greater privileges than we have at present.

Some time ago I was down in the State of Kansas, in Kansas City, and I was talking to an intelligent American gentleman, and he said, "You are from Canada?"

"Yes." "Well, I am very glad to see you. Glad to have a little conversation with regard to Canada. Don't you think it would be better for your people to join us rather than to be paying taxes to England?" I said, "We don't pay any taxes to England." "What, no taxes to England!" "No." "Neither for army or navy or anything else?" "No! we pay no taxes to England; all we do is to pay the salary of a Governor-General and the equipment of his mansion, which costs us about $110,000 a year. That is all it costs us; we pay no taxes." In a very rough, gruff way, he said to me. "What the h—l good are you to England?" (Laughter.) He thought that tax-paying was the only possible good that we could render to the Empire. Now, under those circumstances, I think that we ought to be a very happy and a very contented people. I notice that "Jim" Hill, who, by the way, happens to be a distant relation of my wife, was up in the North-West, some time ago, and made a speech at Winnipeg, in which he talked very strongly in favour of better trade relations with the United States. He said that he should like to see the Americans take down the bars and promote better trade between Canada and the United States. Well, Hill has thirteen good sound reasons why he should talk in that way. He is building no less than thirteen branches from his main line into the Canadian North-West.

For my part, I regret that they are being built. The farmers of that section think it is going to be a grand thing for them. I question in the end if it won't be an injury rather than an advantage. How will that be? Hill will take the wheat of Manitoba and the North-West; he will carry it down on his own line, it will be ground into flour; and it will be shipped to the Orient as the product of Manitoba wheat, when it will be mixed with the inferior wheat that they grow south of us. The result will be that we will have to meet the competition that will come from the Hill lines, that will declare that their flour is the pure product of Manitoba wheat, and if the farmer will get a little better price to start with, he will get much less in the end when he has to compete with a product of that kind in the Eastern market. Now, I think it would have been better if we had kept Hill out of the North-West, and I must say, in my simplicity, I voted and fought against every one of those measures, because I thought that after building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and constructing the Grand Trunk Railway, that we ought to be able to handle, within our own territory, our own trade, and keep the country out that militates so determinedly against us. They carried, last year, no less than $28,000,000 worth of raw mineral from Canada into the United States. I hope that the day is not far distant when we will have smelters and refiners in our own country that will handle all the product and will bring to a perfected condition the results of our mining outfit, rather than to send it across to Uncle Sam. He is willing to take all our raw product, but he is not willing to take anything that we send him in an even partly manufactured condition, unless duty is paid upon it. Under these circumstances, I think we had better keep largely within ourselves.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have gone over the different points that I intended to refer to; allow me to close in saying that I sincerely hope that the meeting which is to take place in April next, the Colonial Conference, will bring about a better condition of things within the Empire than we have at the present moment. It is most desirable, in my humble opinion, in the interest of the British Isles themselves, as well as in the interest of their Colonies, that they should come closer together on trade lines. I believe the future of the Empire largely depends upon that. I am sorry to have to admit that, in my opinion, England has been getting a little behind the time. Germany appears to have forged ahead. It is amazing to what extent technical knowledge is applied in Germany, also in the United States. They are making wonderful developments; they are an awfully ingenious people. They produce many things that we have to have. The great trouble with England is to get them to understand the trade of the Colonies and to make goods that will suit us. They have been hard to convince to alter their plans, and I hope the Conference will result in some change of that kind. If it does, it will be of great advantage, not only to the Empire, but to Canada. Now, we are proud, as I said a moment ago, of the development that we are making along many lines. Just allow me to touch upon one. In our hog products in Canada, we are getting into a serious condition, so far as the American is concerned. I saw a circular that was issued some time ago by the Armour people, of Kansas City, and it was sent out to every farmer in the South-Western States, and what did it say? It said: "Unless the farmers of the South-Western States will produce for us a hog that is fed on more vegetables and less corn, so that we can produce a bacon that will meet the English taste equal to that of Canada, Canada will cut us out of the English market. They are beginning to take the lead, and we will eventually lose the English trade." That was the acknowledgment of one of the largest meat-curing firms of the United States. They don't want to trade with us, but we meet them in the British market.

I hope that the day is not very far distant when England will come to her senses and adopt the Chamberlain policy. I think it would be the grandest thing for Canada, and the grandest thing for the Empire. She is fond of free trade. I must confess, looking at the history of France and Germany and the United States, it has been a marvel to me how England has managed to live through sixty years of free trade with all the hostility that she has had from all the other nations of the world. I think it is singular. I cannot see through it, but I do say, if she will draw her Colonies closer to her, under the system as outlined by Chamberlain; bring us into such a close relation that we will trade with each other on better terms than we trade with the outside world, I think it will be the greatest thing for the Empire and a blessing to the British Isles themselves. They have not realized the advantages that they are going to enjoy under such a system, and they will come to regret that they did not adopt it years and years ago.

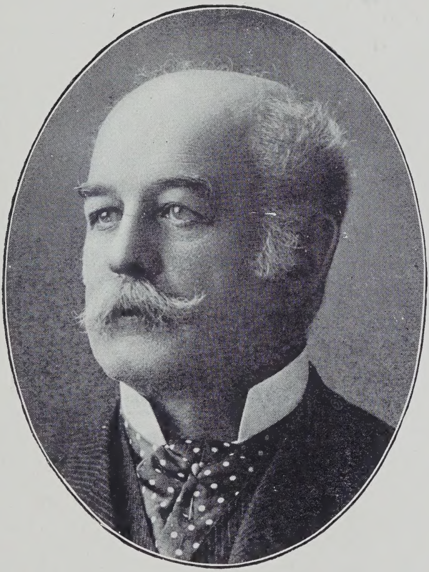
THE UNION JACK OF THE EMPIRE.

Address by Mr. F. Barlow Cumberland, M.A., of Toronto, beore the Empire Club of Canada, on December 20th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club,—

The subject upon which I am to speak to you is, "The Union Jack, the Sovereign's Colour and Sign of Imperial Unity." A subject which dates its origin from over a thousand years ago is one which, in the short time of twenty minutes at our disposal, must be taken somewhat rapidly, and, therefore, there are many interesting phases in the progress of our Flag over which I shall have to pass untouched.

The foundation was in the times of Richard I., the "Lion Hearted"—and it would seem almost as though the emblem of our nationality had sprung from the great heart of that great man. The King was leading his Crusaders to the relief of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and, as the leader of a seafaring nation, had advanced his forces in a fleet by the sea, rather than, as the other nationalities were, marching over-land. Sailing toward Bayreuth, he engaged in action with the enemy's fleet, near-by the grotto of the famous St. George, and it was by the winning of that naval victory in the neighbourhood of the spot consecrated to that great saint, into whose renown we have not time to enter, that we obtain for England the sign of St. George, the "Red Cross" upon the white banner. In those Crusades, the various nationalities, in order to distinguish them one from another, wore upon the surcoats, crosses indicating the various nationalities from which they came. The German wore a black cross; the Italian a yellow cross; and after this time the Englishman wore a red cross. The sign of the red cross, then, is the sign of "the English." This sign, this emblem of chivalry, undaunted courage, and of respect and protection for



Mr. F. Barlow Cumberland, M.A.
President of the Ontario Historical Society.

women—was brought to England in A.D. 1194, by Richard I. Afterwards, as record of its adoption as the tutelary sign of England, "St. George's Day" was set apart in 1222, to be celebrated as "England's Day."

From the time of Edward I. onwards, we find plain instances of the use of this sign of St. George as the indication of English association. As an English emblem on seals, on banners and arms, on sepulchral monuments; on the memorial crosses that were erected are found reproduced this sign of the English. It had been worn as the emblem of England in the Crusades; under it the power and title of the King of England, to the "Lordship of the narrow seas," was won. Under this red cross banner the marvellous naval victory at Sluys, the Trafalgar of its day, was gained, and the fields of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt rang to the sound of "England and St. George." Carried across the seas—Cabot discovered Greater Britain; Drake carried our Red Cross flag around the world. Frobisher sought the farthest points of the Northwest Passage—and Raleigh founded under it Virginia, the beginning of the great English colonies in America. The climax glory of all was the carrying of this Red Cross sign of England in the victory by Elizabeth's sailors over the Spanish Armada, a victory which settled the future of the world. (Applause.) With such a glory roll, it is not to be wondered that, as a tribute to its history and to the seamanship of England, the Admiral's flag of a British fleet is to-day the sign of the Red Cross of St. George upon the white field; that the distinguishing ensign of the British navy, worn at the stern of all His Majesty's ships, is the English Red Cross flag, with its white ground and with a Union Jack in the upper left corner. These are reminders of the great past and a proper recognition of the share that the English people hold in the maintenance of England as the "Mistress of the Seas." Well, then, indeed, has it been sung:

> Ye mariners of England
> That guard our native seas,
> Whose flag has braved a thousand years
> The battle and the breeze,—

and it is the only flag that floats o'er earth and sea of which this centuries-long honour can be acclaimed.

As our next point, we may take some little history of the "Scottish Jack," that is, the white saltire or diagonal cross upon the Union Jack. It is difficult to find out exactly how St. Andrew came to be adopted as the Patron Saint of Scotland. In the early centuries it is recorded that a vessel coming to Scotland bearing on it some of the relics of the Saint, was wrecked at a place in the County of Fife, still called St. Andrews. This may have been the origin of his adoption as the Saint of the country. At all events, it is found that in A.D. 987 the King of the Scots came to the relief of Hungus, King of the Picts, when being attacked by the West Saxons he was in dire distress and subjected to an overwhelming foe. The story goes that as the Scots men were at night lying out on the ground waiting for the morn and praying for success, they saw in the heavens, set out upon the deep blue sky, a saltire cross formed by white clouds in the form of the cross of St. Andrew. Emboldened by the sight of this emblem of their adopted Saint, they were encouraged in their hearts; and redoubling their energies they won next day the victory.

From that day onward St. Andrew's Cross is evident in the annals of its people. It was the flag of Robert-the-Bruce, and under it he won in 1314 the Battle of Bannockburn; but it does not seem to have been used by them much sailing far across the seas. The Scotsman kept his ships more closely along his shores, the deep indented fiords or fastnesses being admirably adapted for that system which the Scots men used of making sudden forays upon the passers-by, or those who had anything that was worth while endeavouring to get. This they had done with very considerable effect on land upon their neighbours in the English lands and in Ireland, and during those raids it was their habit, as we find recorded, to wear upon their blue surcoats the white St. Andrew's cross as a sign and means of identification. Along these indented shores there are stored in the folk-lore of the Scottish people many interesting incidents, and their bold men stand out in striking story. Sir Andrew Wood, of Leith, was one of the foremost of them at the time of Henry VII., of England, and challenged the English fleet to a contest. Three ships of each side were chosen. The Scotsmen won the day and took the three English ships with all their men and all that was on them into Dundee. James IV. of Scotland returned, not the booty, but the ships and the men, saying that the contest had been for honour and not for gain. (Laughter.) The last of the "freebooters" was Sir Andrew Barton, who not only took toll from the English people who might be passing his way, but also from all other nationalities that might be sailing those seas, but the rise of the Navy of Henry VIII. and the joining of the thrones on the accession of James VI. of Scotland, or James I. of England, saw the last of the day of the Scotch "freebooter."

The "Irish Jack" was a Saint Patrick's cross, a red cross of the same shape as the saltire cross of Scotland, but on a white ground. St. Patrick was the Christian apostle of the Irish and carried his work throughout the people about A.D. 411. It is suggested that the selection of this shape of cross was due to the ensign of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor of Rome. On his standard was this cross, being "X," the first letter of the word "Christ," in the same saltire form, and this cross, the sign of the first Christian Emperor of Rome, may have given rise to the adoption of one in that shape as his emblem by St. Patrick. From Henry II., the Kings of England had been the lords paramount of Ireland, and from Henry VIII. they had been Kings of Ireland. But, during all that period, there does not seem to have been any particular adoption of this cross as the national sign of Ireland. It is, however, found earlier in the arms of the Fitzgeralds, who were dominant Irish leaders at the time of the conquest of Ireland by Henry II.

These three Jacks, then, are the component portions of our Union Jack,—the Red Cross on a white ground for England; the White Cross on a blue ground for Scotland; and the Red Cross on a white ground for Ireland.

The First Joining. In 1603, James I. had succeeded by virtue of his birth to be King of England. In the early years of his reign he had found that there were constant contentions, possibly the remains of the old differences which had been existent between his English and his Scotch peoples. The Englishman carried on his ship the red cross of England on the white ground; the Scotchman carried on his ship the white cross of Scotland on the blue ground, as the sign of his nationality, and as the ships passed there were differences of opinion as to the wearing of these flags. It is possible these differences of opinion gave place to blows, and so the King thought it would be well to prevent these contentions by adopting some method which would show a sign of their union. He therefore devised, in 1606, in the sixth year of his reign, the "King's Jack," which was composed of the Red Cross of England, joined with the White Cross of Scotland upon a blue ground in a single flag. This, being a combination of the two Jacks, he ordered to be carried as an additional flag on the main top of each ship of his subjects, but he ordained that his English subjects were still to continue to hoist at the same time on their foretop their national Jack of St. George's Cross, and the Scotch the White Cross. This flag of James I. would appear to be the first "Union Jack," but it should be remembered that there is this distinct difference between that Jack and the one which subsequently came, and whose successor we carry, that it was not a "National Jack," because each nation still continued to carry, as previously, their own National Jack. It was the King's flag, the sign of the unity of the two Kingdoms under one King. The King himself had desired that his title should be changed from "King of England, Scotland, and Ireland," to "King of Great Britain," but the Parliaments would not have it so, and, therefore, his title remained as it had previously been. The emblems of the nations, each retaining their own individuality, remained apart, but the King's Jack was a sign of their unity in loyalty to one sovereign. Further, the Jack, when raised alone, was authorized to be used only on the King's ships. When used on the people's ships they must show both the sign of their nationality and the sign of the King.

The next period of change in the flags, passing over the interval during the Commonwealth when the "King's Jack" disappeared altogether, came in the time of Queen Anne.

When Queen Anne came to the throne there was no Union Jack used by the people in existence, because it had been taken from the people in the time of the Commonwealth, and they were then carrying their original national Jacks as previously, and also a red ensign with only the red cross of England on a white ground in the upper corner. In 1707, in the sixth year of her reign, the two Parliaments of England and Scotland were united in one, and before their union each Parliament, sitting separately, authorized the Queen to form a new "Union Jack," which should be the sign of both peoples.. Thus came about the formation of the first real national Union Jack. Again it was composed of the Red Cross of England and the White saltire cross of Scotland on the blue ground. These two were joined together in the one, the red cross of England and its white ground represented by the broad white band adjoining the red cross; the white cross of Scotland upon the blue ground of its national Jack. This became the national ensign of both, and, as usual, the Scotchman got a very considerable portion of the area of the flag.

Under this flag Plassey was won, and Clive added India. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were brought under its national aegis. It was raised upon Fort Niagara, across our shores of Lake Ontario, in 1759, when Sir William Johnson took that Fort from the French, and, as Kirby says:

"The last day came and Bois le Grand
  Beheld with misty eyes,
The flag of France run down the staff,
  And that of England rise."

Under it Wolfe won Louisburg and Quebec, and changed the whole future of this continent; Nelson carried it above him and his sailors at the Nile. The west coast of Africa, Australia, Vancouver Island, were all brought under the British Crown by its wide-sailing seamen. Yet what affects us most, I think, is one of its crowning glories,—that our French-speaking brothers, who earlier had come underneath this two-crossed Jack by the victory of Wolfe, had so grown to respect it; had so felt the marvellous freedom that it gave them, and so learned what liberty, what real liberty, was under the protection of that flag; that in 1776 they stood alongside our British men in the defense of Quebec, and with it floating above them as their patriotic emblem, drove the United States invaders back to the land from which they had come. Under that flag the widespread foundations of the Colonies of England were laid, and it is in that period we find an acceptance of the colonizing power of the nations of the Union Jack.

Now, as to the present Union Jack.

For 94 years the Irish Jack had not been inserted in the Union Jack, although during all that time, and sharing in all its feats of glory, the fiery deviltry of the Irishmen had joined with the cool consideration of the Scotchmen, and the stolid stubbornness of the Englishmen, all being welded together to make the advancement of that marvellous product—the British race. While these had been striving side by side and supporting the glory of the flag, the sign of the Irish had not yet come in. At length, in the 41st year of George III., the Parliaments of Great Britain and of Ireland were united, and, as with the Scottish, so then, and not till then, was the Irish Cross brought into the flag. It became then a sign of a union of Constitutional rule. It was the embracing of the people of the several nations in one united form of government; it is the sign of the union of British allegiance in loyalty to sovereign and in maintenance of law. In the joining together of these three flags a peculiar result had to be obtained. The Irish Cross and the Scottish Cross were of the same shape. The Scotchman would not be pleased to have his cross obliterated, and, therefore, that portion of the flag had to be divided between them.

It may be well, now, to look at the Flag in detail. Broadly upon the whole, in most prominent position, and embracing it from side to side, is set the plain Red Cross of St. George, with its broad, white border, representing the white ground of the old Jack of England, the original and foremost partner of the Union. The space of the single white diagonal cross of St. Andrew, as on the first Union Jack, has been shared with the red diagonal Cross of St. Patrick in a way that, to the uninstructed, appears at first somewhat peculiar, but which bears an important lesson. The red cross of Ireland might have been placed continuously over the white cross of Scotland, but that would have been an equal division, and have failed to tell the story of the Union. Beginning at the side next the flagstaff, which is the part of the flag in highest honour, you will notice that in the "quarters" next the staff the upper half of the diagonal is all white, while the lower half is red with an edging of white. This is an equal division of the space, for the red cross of St. Patrick with its border is equal to the St. Andrew with its border, which two, being of the same colour, appear together as one broad white.

In the two "quarters" in the "fly" or end of the flag, you will notice, the red of St. Patrick is uppermost in the diagonal, and the broad white of St. Andrew is, in these quarters, below, being the reverse of the positions they occupied in the quarters of higher value next the staff. Thus, while an equal division is given to each of the National Crosses, the historical story is plainly recorded that Scotland had preceded Ireland in entering the Union. In such way does the noble flag, each time it is spread out to the breeze, voice, in its form, the history of its origin and of its career, and in its colours,

"Red, white and blue,
Brave, pure and true,"

that, supporting each other and united by courage, the Nations are building their union on the firm foundations of Purity and Truth. Remember, then, whenever you look at the Union Jack of the present day and type, to see, always, that the broad white is uppermost at the side next the flagstaff, otherwise the flag is reversed, and instead of being a flag of honour, it is a flag of distress. I trust that you all will be watchful that our Flag is displayed in the proper way. I have indicated to you in some degree that it is the Sovereign's flag, but time does not permit of going further into detail. You will remember that it was so under James I. Charles I. had authorized it to be used only on the ships of the British Navy, describing it to be the "ornament proper for our own ships." Under Charles II., again under William III., and again under Queen Anne in the beginning of her reign, there had been various regulations issued calling upon the people to recognize it to be used as a "King's Flag" on ships only of the Royal Navy. In those earlier times it was the sign of the Paramount Sovereign, afterwards, with the advancing relations of the Island Parliaments, it became the Union Sign of both King and People, and then with the rise of the Outer Realm it rose to a wider significance. It is the Constitutional Emblem of all the British peoples, and the sign of Imperial Unity, when placed in the larger flags of the National Ensigns.

The Union Jack was early placed in the upper corner of the striped Ensign used by the East India Company, as the sign of British power and position in India. It was placed by the thirteen British Colonies in North America in the upper corner of their Colonial Ensign, composed of the Union Jack and the Thirteen Bars, to show that they were Britons holding to their allegiance and claiming their rights; it was in the flag of the Hawaiian Islands when they came under the care of Great Britain. It was placed in the upper corner of our Canadian Ensign at Confederation as our sign of Imperial Unity; and at the formation of the Union of Australia it was put in the upper portion of their Australian Ensign as the emblem of their British union. It is the Flag of the Empire on which the sun never sets.

That it has been taken from its position in the flag of the United States is a matter of regret, but at the same time it is a matter of memorial to us that while they have parted with our old traditions, we in Canada carry the Union Jack in our Canadian ensign as the emblem of the staunchness of our loyalty and the belief that we have in the Realm and unity of the Empire of which we are part. (Applause.) It was in fidelity to it that our United Empire Loyalists crossed the border and came to this country over which our French-Canadians had joined in holding it inviolate. Now, what are we united Canadians going to do for it? Here is a flag which carries such a history as no other flag in the world. Each portion of it tells its own story, voices its own history, speaks of the union by constitutional methods of the British race, tells us how it started out from its old original home and with us and around the world has spread its colonizing power,—the aegis of its liberties.

What are we going to do as our share in the future glory of this flag which we have inherited? There is no people in the world which has such openings before it as has our Canadian people; there is no nation in the world to which is given in greater opportunity the following out the line of the old British race whereby the original people received into their midst persons from all places and from other nationalities and fused them into a united and loyal whole. To-day there is no people upon the face of the earth that is receiving such stronghearted adventurers from other lands as we are in Canada. Shall we, will we, fuse them together so that the spirit of our forefathers shall spread into their hearts and the flag of our Empire will be accepted by them with the same loyalty as we ourselves now hold to it. Shall we sell it for gain? Are we willing to barter it? Are we willing to consider this portion of this continent as being something which belongs solely to ourselves for our own separate advantage?

The flag tells us whence we came; the flag tells us from whom we obtained it; it tells us that we are to keep it not only for those who are living here, but for those who are loyal to it around the world. Well, then, may it fly upon the school-houses of Manitoba; well has that Government taken the foremost step in saying that all those varied nationalities which are coming within their lands shall be taught by the visible emblem which they have placed above their school-houses, that they are coming under the influences and under the charge of the Union Jack. So, too, may we have them over all our school-houses in Ontario. "Well done" to those men and to those people who would spread the use of these flags among our Canadian school-houses, for they are the signals not only of our own union; they are the signs of a nationality wider than the country in which we live; they are a sign of brotherhood with our fellow peoples around the world. (Applause.)

This Union Jack, then, is the flag which is the birthright of each British man; this is the flag which should always fly and be held and be esteemed as our own. It heralds loyalty to our forefathers, to King, to country, and to Empire. It speaks to us from the past; it tells us of the great heroes; it inspires us to greater deeds.

"It's only a small bit of bunting,
It's only an old coloured rag,
Yet thousands have died for its honour,
And shed their best blood for the flag.

It floats over Cyprus and Malta,
Over Canada, the Indies, Hong Kong,
And Britons where'er their flag's flying,
Claim the rights which to Britons belong.

We hoist it to show our devotion
To our King, to our country, our laws;
It's the outward and visible emblem
Of advancement and liberty's cause.

You may say it's an old bit of bunting,
You may call it an old coloured rag,
But Freedom has made it majestic,
And time has ennobled our flag."

Mr. Cecil B. Smith, C.E., Toronto.

THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER QUESTION.

Address by Mr. Cecil B. Smith, C.E., Chairman of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 27th, 1906.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I assure you I consider it a great honour to be invited to address the Empire Club. It is a Club that I have known of and have been thinking of joining. I hope I will be given the opportunity of doing so. You have done me the honour of asking me to address you on a subject which, I suppose, may be considered to be of interest in some form or other to almost every citizen, and as I have been interested in the matter for a considerable number of years, I will endeavour to make some remarks which may perhaps be of interest and value to you at the present time. The question is of a somewhat controversial nature, and I do not think it would become either me or the Club that it should be treated in this manner, and, therefore, it appears best to leave the treatment in the form of either a history or a prophecy, and as a prophecy is rather a thankless task, I would prefer to treat the matter historically, leading up to the condition of the art or science of distributing electrical energy at the present moment.

As you are aware, the main sources of power that are of any value in commercial and industrial life are fuel and water. There are others, but they are not of commercial importance. In the earlier days, a hundred years ago, the use of fuel as applied to the development of power by steam was studied and brought into a commercial condition, and we have had for the last twenty-five years a gradual perfecting of this method of the use of power; that is, the steam engine was, practically speaking, perfected a long while ago. Since that time a great many improvements have been added from year to year, until at the present time we may say that the steam engine method of producing power is practically standard and is as perfect as can be obtained, humanly speaking. At the same time in certain localities in the old lands and later in America, use was made of water power.

At the time water powers were first developed, it is evident that they must have been used only locally. That is, a small village or town sprang up in consequence of the use being made of a water power in grinding or in milling, or the various other purposes which come easily to your mind. This brings us up to a period of some twenty years ago, and then the scientists discovered something which I believe you do not yet fully realize. It is something which will enable the distribution of the people on the earth's surface to be considerably changed from what it was, and is going to be a very important factor. Some twenty years ago it was discovered that electric power could be transmitted over a wire and naturally it soon became demonstrated that it could be done in a commercial manner. First of all it was a plaything. At Frankfort they carried some power a short distance. That was the beginning. It is interesting that at that time, in that country, and at that place, there was developed probably to the greatest extent yet developed the method of rope drive. A water power of considerable size, some thousand horse power, generates power on one side of the Rhine and transmits to a large number of factories a considerable amount of power by wire rope; and there was the infant electrical idea springing into being almost in the same locality.

As soon as it became evident that large amounts of power could be distributed over considerable territory by electrical energy, it naturally passed out of the hand of the scientist, not entirely, but in this sense it passed into the hands of the sharp-witted financier. This was evidently the second stage. As soon as it became evident that this thing could be done, the brightest commercial minds of the country would naturally say to themselves, "Well, now, what use can we make of this in order to make money?" There may have been many cases in which a person engaged in his own industry acquired a water power and devoted that only to his own industry, but the natural development beyond this point was that financial interests should study this matter from a financial point of view, and you have around you now evidence of the result. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to dwell for a moment on the importance of water powers to this Province, because, as you know, the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec are each dependent on a foreign supply of fuel. The wood supply is a thing which will disappear in time, in fact it has practically disappeared. We have to depend upon the United States for fuel—we have always to depend upon them for fuel, and, therefore, if we can develop some latent source of power in our Province, and create an asset in the Province and rid ourselves of the necessity of purchasing so much fuel from a neighbouring country, we will have done something which will form a stable basis for our industries for all time to come.

That is a point that I would like to have you consider, that this development of water powers, and the distribution of energy therefrom, is something which the industries can count upon, humanly speaking, forever; for, so long as the winds blow the atmosphere will ascend, and will have in it sources of power which can be used by man for his industries. It is a continuous cycle which a good Providence has provided for us. Fortunately the Power Commission has covered the Province fairly well, not entirely, but the figures of the present time would warrant this assertion—that considering that the Niagara Falls, and the St. Lawrence River, and the Soo, and all other international or interprovincial waters, belong only one-half to Ontario, then we have available within the settled parts of the Province three and a half million horse power, and I think it is a safe estimate to say that there is nearly as much more in those portions of the Province which will later on become populated, so that you can see that you have available five or six million horse power rightfully belonging to this Province; and I would say that that is based on the most unfavourable condition, which is what we speak of as the minimum or dry weather continuous flow, and I will explain in a moment how this can be augmented enormously so as to increase the value of these water powers.

I do not want to make an assertion which would be quoted, but merely as an illustration. We will suppose that water power as a whole can be supplied to the customers at, say, $25 per horse power per year, and that supply of power, by the present methods from steam, costs $35, just as an illustration. The conditions vary with every place—the cost of coal, the distance, water power, and thousands of other special and local considerations, but there is a large margin between the two, and a difference of $10 leads to what conclusion? That as these powers continue to be used, you have got an asset of $10 per horse-power, which you have to capitalize, that is $200 per horse-power latent and outside of any investment, and if you multiply that by 3½ million you have $700,000,000 as being latent at our doors at the present time, within the confines of the settled portions of this Province, to be made use of to operate and increase and to make stable forever our industries.

To refer to the use of electric energy for a city, for any city, this is a thought that is worth while dwelling on. Practically all of the uses to which electric energy is put are in themselves natural monopolies, a Street Railway, electric light for your house, for the street lighting, and for the various uses of power, necessitating distribution of the current by underground or overhead methods. These are evidently all natural monopolies, and a question always, to my mind, has been, given that that thing should be a natural monopoly, it ultimately will become so, and so the question is "Whose monopoly should it be?" As to the use of electric power—many of you here, no doubt, are more familiar with factory equipment than I am, many of you probably being owners of factories operating steam or electric motors. There is one thing certain, it has been demonstrated, that in operating a factory by a complicated system of drives of pulleys and shafting, carrying the power and transmitting it from one floor to the next, the amount of power used is very much in excess of the amount which you would require if you equipped the factory with electric motors. The proportion has to be figured out for each factory, but I know of cases in which the amount of power has been reduced as much as fifty per cent. You might look on that as the maximum limit. You save an enormous amount of power, wasted in the driving pulleys and belts and the machines themselves. On the other hand, you don't require to use all the machines at the same time, and you often have to drive an enormous amount of idle machinery if you are connected up and driven from a central point of energy. This has been worked out for many factories, and, therefore, I think you can take it as certain that, provided you can get the energy in large quantities at rates less than coal rates, you will not only have the saving in that respect, but you will have the saving of using less power. Therefore, your saving may be of a double nature, and that is why, in many cases, companies are able to sell power at what appears to be high rates, and the parties using it realize that they can even afford to pay a little more than they did for the steam and still have a saving.

Another feature which has been developed to a considerable extent by power companies, very shrewdly and sensibly, and a thought that is well worth carrying further, is this, that in the distribution of power, the larger it becomes and the apparently more complicated it becomes, the more favourable it is to the party in the business, because if you have two customers they may use all, or the maximum amount of their power at a given moment; but it is positively certain if you have two thousand customers, they are not all going to call for the power at the same time, and, therefore, although there is a pronounced peak load which has to be provided against, and which is always a stumbling block, yet the distributing companies provide for that in many ways. I will consider them, and to bring in another thought, power companies want customers, and you will find that, generally speaking, they either create them or buy them. Take Hamilton—all of the utilities there are taken care of by the parent Power Company. The Power Company, once it started, wanted customers. It bought the Electric Company and the Street Railway Company, and it acquired the Suburban Railways and arranged for the supply of light, until it gathered round it a large number of large customers which are permanent. Amongst those is one which is very useful. Apparently a Street Railway is a very bad customer, because it wants the greatest amount of power just at the time when everybody else wants it—at 6 o'clock. The direct current, which is the kind used by street railways, can, however, be stored. The development of storage has not been carried so far as it probably will be, but in the smaller towns, to a greater or less extent, the storage of direct current is made use of to carry the Street Railway load over the troublesome period of the day.

Then, again, there are certain industries which are willing, for a consideration, to cease operating at an earlier period in the afternoon in the winter season. That is what is called a limited-hour contract. Many of you engaged in certain industries will say that is not feasible, but it is worked out practically in a large city with varied industries where there are some who will be willing to cease operation at 4.30 or 5, depending on the time of the year, and will remain shut down until after six o'clock. That, again, enables the heavy period of the day to be taken care of in a way that will enable the distributing company to sell their current, not twice or thrice over, but to sell it for a larger period of the day. That is not a matter of so great importance in steam operation as in water power, although, of course, you have a large investment in a steam plant whether you sell power during the 24 hours or not. The fuel is one of the largest items of expense, and, therefore, if the generating of power is done by steam there is considerable economy in being able to slack off during the slack hours, but with a water power development it is evident that everything goes on whether you have a customer or not, therefore, the creation of water power energy has a tendency to lead industries to carry on their operations through longer hours. This has resulted, in the United States, in many cases, in working factories through three eight-hour shifts, but I understand the factory laws are such here as to make it practically impossible to operate factories, requiring female labour, in the night. That will restrict the carrying on of industries through the night hours.

Before I touch briefly on the local condition in Toronto, which I would like to do in a general way, I would like to refer to what is going on elsewhere. We can often learn a great deal from what other people are doing. First, as an illustration, the Kingdom of Italy has wonderfully developed its water powers in the northern part of the Kingdom, and very recently it has arranged that the Government of the country shall spend $40,000,000 in the development of water powers, showing the great faith that they have in the value of these water powers, and they are, roughly speaking, situated about as we are. They have to bring their coal long distances. You cannot help but be impressed in the north of Italy with the tremendous expense that they have gone to to develop water powers, which we would not be considering at the present time because we have better ones. I remember one in which they drove a tunnel about two miles, and then they built a stone aqueduct for two miles further, and all for development of steam two or three thousand H. P.; an amount which we would hardly think would justify such expenditure.

In the two neighbouring countries of Switzerland and France they have, as you are aware, large water power possibilities, and these have been developed away beyond anything that we have attempted yet in the way of completeness—many small powers developed and distributed over a reasonable territory in the vicinity to small users. There is one water power developed there, only two thousand H. P. that is distributed over an area of 15 miles in the country in such small amounts as one, two, three, and four horse powers, to lace makers and industries of that kind in the peasants' village homes, and is used by these industries entirely in that way—no large consumers at all—and this has been done to a great extent in Switzerland, except that they are devoting some of it to the operating of electric roads. Coming nearer home, you are probably aware Canadian capital is invested heavily in Mexico for transmission of power for greater distances than is in operation between Niagara Falls and Toronto. Coming to the United States, which is more applicable, there are certain parts of the country in which the transmission of power evidently was a profitable investment; for instance, in the mountainous district of the Pacific coast, and this has resulted in a great many developments in California in which power has been transmitted as far as two hundred miles. One of two hundred and fifty miles has been operated in that way for a short time. You can consider that, for the present, two hundred miles is looked upon as quite practicable and the amount of loss in power in sending it that distance is fairly well known and, although there is very much more development in the United States at the present time than in Canada, in total, there is not so much more in proportion.

The reasons are obvious. In the greater part of the United States they are not so fortunately situated as we are with reference to water powers. Their streams flow from cleared country or at any rate from country not dotted with lakes and ponds, and, therefore, the flood water goes away rapidly. This is perhaps more noticeable, than anywhere else, in the Southern States. There are a great many rivers flowing towards the sea in which there are perfect torrents in the spring time, rising sometimes thirty feet in height and yet, in spite of this difficult handling of water powers and in spite of coal being available at reduced rates, in spite of all this, they are developing the water powers to an enormous extent on the Appalachian slope. In driving cotton factories and making use of them to an economical extent, as I pointed out, they equip each set of machines on each floor with individual motors. They are contemplating greater things and there is at the present time, under survey and in process of construction, a very large water power on the Susquehanna, for delivery in Harrisburg; and a much larger one being now situated at Keokuk, on the Mississippi River, developing the whole river for power. That is a very difficult river to handle, with its enormous floods and shifting bottom.

We will be called upon to admire a still greater expansion of the question of distance transmission soon. You probably have noticed it in the press. In South Africa the Rand requires power, lots of it. Coal is expensive. Seven hundred miles to the north is the Victoria Falls. This is not a fairy tale nor a dream. Practical engineers and financiers are about to undertake the delivery of power seven hundred miles, and, curiously enough, there are two features which come up that are interesting. One is, that they have had to drop back to direct current to do it, put their machines in series, get their voltage up to one hundred and twenty or one hundred and eighty thousand volts and deliver it at the other end; use a series of machines which will bring the power down to normal conditions and construct enormous storage plants there, either by electric storage batteries or, as I have seen it mentioned, by means of pumping water up to a reservoir and holding enough of it so that in case of interruption to the line, they would be safe against that interruption. To take care of seven hundred miles of line through an uncivilized country is quite a problem, and they propose to provide for it in that way.

To briefly speak of the situation in our own district, as you are aware, some fourteen or fifteen years ago some enterprising men, a lawyer and an engineer and one or two financiers, considered that the time was ripe for the development of Niagara Falls. They secured certain rights, and the Niagara Falls Power Company was commenced.* In 1897, I think it was, what was then considered enormous machines of five thousand horse power each, making a total capacity of fifteen thousand horse power, were installed and started, and in connection with that they bought a large amount of land, built a town, and drew in industries, and hold them now as part of themselves. This development has gone on until they have available one hundred thousand horse power. Shortly after that, Hamilton men considered the time had come when Hamilton needed electric power, and they went to the Niagara Falls Power Company and negotiated for the purchase of power from Niagara Falls to transmit to Hamilton. They were unsuccessful and finally decided to take care of their own business, and arranged for the generation of power near St. Catharines, and the transmission of power was commenced into Hamilton.

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* On the United States side.—EDITOR.

That marks the stage of development up to five years ago. No, I am forgetting that along with this larger development, a gentleman, or gentlemen, named Shillcroft, were carrying on in a quiet way a development which they have developed out of their own resources, put their profits into it from year to year steadily, quietly, and building a little more, until now they have forty thousand horse power on the American side devoted to their own uses in various commercial industries and paper companies, and they are now carrying on the same processes. They have deepened their canal and are ready for one hundred and forty thousand horse power, and are building their head works. They are digging away at the cliff at the bottom, and in the course of a year or two you will find that they have one hundred and forty thousand horse power available. But coming to what interests us more—five years ago was commenced the development of companies, which meant more for Ontario. The charters were in existence for some time, but the first one to start active operations was the Canadian Niagara Power Company, an off-shoot of the Niagara Falls Power Company. In four years machinery was in operation; at the present time they have fifty thousand horse power available for sale, and are making active preparations for the carrying of that power to Buffalo. That is their set policy; then, alongside of that came the Ontario Power Company—American capital again, and American engineers.

Some two years later a company, The Toronto and Niagara Power Company, organized by Toronto men, using American and English capital, I believe, started, and now their machinery is in operation to a limited extent, and I suppose you can safely say that in six months from now, or a little later, there will be one hundred and fifty thousand horse power available on the Canadian side of the river, and these plants are all designed with a view of increase. The Canadian Niagara Power Company has an open wheel pit bucked up ready for sixty thousand more. The Toronto and Niagara Power Company is ready to do the same. Its pit is built and finished, ready for the machinery. The Ontario Power Company have built works for one hundred and eighty thousand horse power, so that you see you have available practically at your doors at the present time, an enormous amount of power, enough to satisfy all the needs of this Western Peninsula for some time to come.

A knowledge of the methods of transmitting it are practically exact. It has got beyond peradventure that there is any interruption of service that need be considered serious, and it is all down to one point, all that is left is the question of price. You can get all the power you want. You can get it transmitted to Toronto and farther. They are transmitting it to Syracuse, 165 miles, and are ready to transmit all the power that is required. Now, I do not propose to go into the political side of it, but I would simply say that you are all aware that the Power Commission of the Province was appointed for the purpose of carrying out the desires of the people. That, as I take it, is the intention, not to develop any fad of their own, simply to do what is required of them by the people. The condition at the present time is that the Commission is in existence and is ready to do what the people desire it to do in that direction. There is a definite act; a study of the situation has been going on for how long? Not, as you would think by articles in the press, for the last few weeks. The matter has been considered for five years and we are not the first ones that have studied it. A quite independent organization of engineers from Montreal, in the employ of the strongest corporations in the country then and now, made an estimate for certain municipalities as to the cost of delivering power to those municipalities. Later on, the Ontario Government were good enough to ask me to carry out a similar but larger question, and studies were made along similar lines. The estimates of the cost of delivering power, as worked out by myself and assistants, in whom I placed entire confidence, are in this report which is available to you. Later on, the Commission, and I am free to confess acting considerably on my advice on the matter, employed a new engineer, an engineer whose reputation and experience will stand the most thorough investigation. We investigated thoroughly; we had applications from Europe, United States and Canada, and this man was selected as being the man that we considered the most experienced, the most reliable, most thoroughly educated, and the most unprejudiced man that could be brought to the assistance of the Commission.

I am not here to discuss any further Mr. Sothmann's recommendation, but I have full confidence that whatever the Commision says can be done; the cost at which delivery of power can be made in the city of Toronto or any other city has been made after careful consideration, after the fullest enquiry as to prices and cost and depreciation and every other thing that could be taken into consideration, and you can safely rely on it. As to the cost of distribution, the Commission have not been authorized to enter into that. We have, however, as a matter of information in connection with these matters studied it somewhat, and I think that I can leave it in this way without quarrelling with pamphlets, or circulars, or newspaper articles—just this simple fact, the distribution of power in this city will reach large proportions, or it will remain small and therefore costly if the price is high. The thing is evident—when you talk about delivering four or five thousand horse power only, a large amount of it light, most of it small users, an enormous number of wires, etc., of course the cost will be high; but are you to imagine that a city of this size, with the known custom, now existing, of sixty thousand horse power, including Toronto Junction, is going to be satisfied to deliver only a small amount? The only rational method is to see that the distribution is carried out on a large scale to satisfy all the parties who require it, and if the City or Company take this matter up and does it on a large scale, it can be done cheaply and it can be done as cheaply as is indicated in our reports, therefore the whole question is, "Does the municipality desire to go into the business?"; for it is a business which cannot be undertaken lightly, it is a business, and if you go in you must consider that when you start you must go on with it as a business proposition, employ the right men, give them authority when you employ them, not hamper them, give them the money, and then you get the results; but if there is any half-heartedness about it, if certain municipal methods are employed, it will be a failure.

The distribution of electrical energy in a city is a great benefit. It is a natural monopoly. It should be done by one Company, and the only question in your mind to decide is, do you desire to use your financial strength and go into the business for the sake of having that distribution carried on more cheaply than a Company could carry it on? It is self-evident that a company is there to make money and that the city, if it had the business, would be there to make the city grow. Therefore, that is the way I would like to leave it with you to consider, that there is an unlimited source of electrical power at Niagara Falls, that the use of that power throughout this peninsula will maintain its industrial position, and I might say, if you do not use it, you will not maintain your industrial position. There are lots of towns and cities that are into the business, are going into the business, and they are going to have lots of electrical power for their manufactures, and they are going to get the manufacturers there if you do not get them here. I know of industries that are making preparations to move, based entirely on the fact that they are going to get the electric power, knowing that the city is going into the business of delivering electrical power to its manufacturers. They know they are going to get it at a reasonable price. They are going to build their factories as soon as the power is available. You have the financial strength, you can go into the business, you can make a success if you wish to, or you can leave it as it is.

Mr. W. A. Sherwood, A.R.C.A., Toronto.

THE NATIONAL SPIRIT IN ART.

Address by Mr. W. A. Sherwood, A.R.C.A., before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 3rd, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Perhaps there is no subject that is more near to the heart of everyone, that is more a part of our life than that of art, and, perhaps, there is no subject that is so little understood, or, rather, so little studied, or more neglected than the very subject which is the nearest and dearest to us.

We are content with the preservation of a likeness of some dear relative that has passed away; we are content to look upon the work and feel that in it the realization, to some extent, has been preserved, the likeness kept, of the one whom we held dear; or with some landscape, descriptive of the scenery of our own home, or of some other part of the country in which we are interested, some part that lends its beauty to a canvas, and we are content when looking upon it with the pleasure which it gives.

We never think at all as to what the real purpose of art in a nation's life may be. We do not hesitate or consider as to whether art may not be a great tributary in the direction of the development of national life; whether it may not be a more powerful factor than even literature, or the stage, or the pulpit. We are content to look upon what the creation of the artist is, what the tribute of the studio may be, and feel perfectly satisfied that the higher object in art is attained when something beautiful has been produced. There is, however, another, a greater field in which art can be made conducive to the development of national life, and that national life will become greater, a more philosophic type than that which would emanate without its existence for that specific purpose.

We know the influence upon the mind of an infant of the earliest pictures upon which it is accustomed to look; that when a child in the nursery looks upon a certain class of pictures it grows up day by day out of infancy into childhood with a certain conception of life far beyond its power of reasoning as to the cause; that it grows up and develops into childhood and from childhood into manhood along the line which we do not pause to think of. We never consider; yet the influence of art upon it is such a mighty factor that the child's course in life may be in some measure directed by the pictures which surround it. I have often watched the little children in the parks in New York when the nurse takes the infant with her and stands before the statue, say, of Daniel Webster. I have seen the little boy, the grown man, gaze above the architrave, and look with open brow upon the result of the sculptor's art, and pause to read with emotion, "One and indivisible, now and forever"—the utterance of Daniel Webster, made when the severance of the States had been pronounced by the Southern people, the great oration closing with that sentence which had aroused the whole United States. There it is perpetuated forever, and when one looks upon the statue, when even that boy looks upon it, he realizes the utterance in the magnificent production of the sculptor's art.

Now, that is the line to which I wish to-day to direct your attention. To produce a pretty picture may be a fairly satisfactory thing. It may be, indeed, an honourable thing for a man to work and toil his life right through to create a fancy, whatever it may be, if he acquits himself in the production honourably and well. Whatever the mechanical excellence of the artist's work may be, it is an infinitely higher thing if his conception in the beginning and throughout his work carries something of a national lesson that may be impressed on future generations as well as the generation in which he lives—if in the individual represented or the subject chosen and painted or the landscape, whatever it may be, there is the conception of national life of a genuine character. Then there is something that is infinitely greater than the pretty colouring of the dilettante. I think, therefore, gentlemen, that the real idea of art is to be in the life of every country, to illustrate that country, to direct the attention of youth to manhood, and that it should not be an exotic existing within and tolerated in a country, but that it should be a vital factor, deserving of as much attention in the existence of the nation, in the development of the nation, as even agriculture or commerce itself. To neglect it, and to leave it to the tender mercies of disinterested men who only patronize it for the pleasure that it gives, is clearly denying it that sacred right which it should in this great age receive.

I do not think that the United States is any better off for having neglected for over a quarter of a century its great artists and patronizing those of other nations. I think it would be infinitely better to turn back the historic page and begin with the pre-rebellion period, and develop along their own lines rather than be a reflector of the schools of Europe. Whilst their artists may attain to great excellence in following the leaders of other schools, a greater excellence is lost, a greater power is sacrificed by virtue of the absence of these men, men of genius, from their own land. I say a greater power is lost, a greater wealth is dissipated. No matter how high they may attain to in technical excellence by virtue of their absence, the nation becomes the poorer. If they remained at home creative genius would direct the mind and consciousness of its own people. Such influence would be infinitely more powerful and enduring, than to surprise the academies of Europe with the vivacity and brightness of their style. Two-thirds of the modern American painters are resident abroad. Would it not be better to have these men in the United States? I know and feel perfectly certain, after a most serious consideration of a subject upon which I have written for the last twenty years, the one to which I am now directing your attention, that a period in national life lies unrecorded in this country and the United States, extending over thirty years, a period of which the future historian will find but meagre material to work from; that the faces of the eminent men that have figured, will be almost forgotten, lost in the vast volume that goes down, not unrecorded, by other nations. Such will only and can only be recorded by the product of the sculptor's art and that of their great painters.

Now, the United States has neglected this, and I feel that the direction to which it is now running, and to which we are running as a result of the self-same neglect, is one of too great materialism. We are rearing in the wilderness of our folly a serpent, perhaps of gold, but a worse one than was ever reared in Israel of old. The serpent of folly that we have cased in precious metal, or that we are moulding, perhaps, to leave to our children, is the heritage of death. Whilst we deny the value of religious instruction, and sneer at the folly of those who pay tribute in the temple, we are rearing a god, an unknown god, to commerce, perhaps, or to finance, or whatever it may be; and when the time comes, the fatal hour of disillusion will follow in its wake as certainly as it has begun in this way. We cannot live by bread alone. This has been uttered by the greatest of prophets, the divine author of our religion. We must live by a higher, a grander line of thought than that. I am not for a single moment attempting to minimize the greatness and strength of finance or of commerce, not in the slightest degree, because I believe that their hand-maidens are literature and art; but as commerce is the most powerful factor, I contend that commerce should bring along with it Literature and Art, and see that they both receive that full meed of recognition to which they are entitled.

It is pitiable in a country of this size to see men who are suffering to some extent for want of recognition, and the term used to deny them recognition is that they have not attained to any great degree, or have not accomplished much; but in giving their lives, I care not what their product may be, in giving their lives to their work, they have indeed expended all that God has given them, they have not hidden their talent, but they have used it, and have been poorly rewarded as a result. We must not measure the weakness of men by determined efforts of the critic. We know how Rembrandt went about the streets begging his crust of bread; we know, too, that the Academy of St. Luke regarded his art as unworthy of recognition in his own day; he went down in poverty to the grave, and now a single painting by him would bring more than the Academy of St. Luke's entire production. Yet the critics of that time condemned him. Now, sir, the value of the work of Rembrandt to the nation, the value of it to Holland is of such a power that Holland, without Rembrandt, is a name scarcely recognized in the high walks of England or of France. He is held in the highest possible esteem; placed side by side with the greatest men. He was one who fought along the lines of national life, he impressed his canvas with the spirit that flowed through his heart, he was as great to Holland in the product of his work as her great navigators were in the process of their business, or the men upon the Bourse of Amsterdam were in the accomplishment of their great mercantile results. His name is preserved among the treasures of that great people.

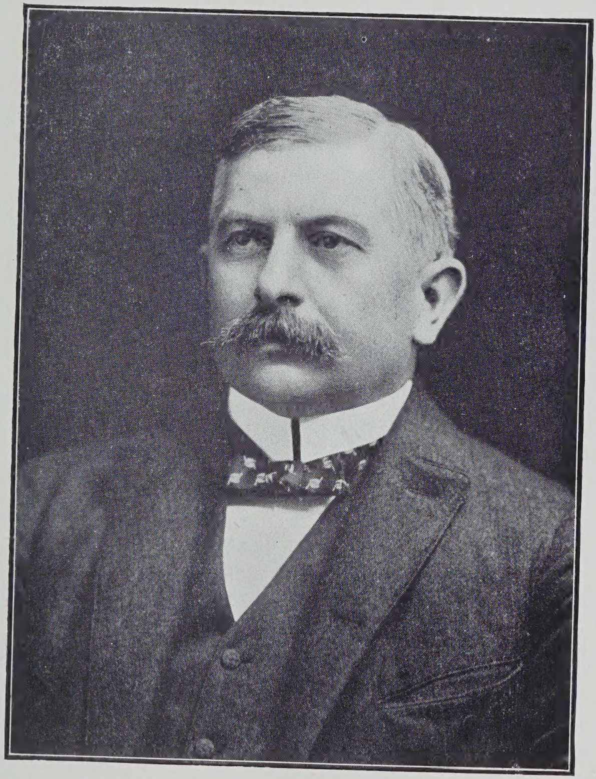
Let us look nearer to our own country—say, to the Father of Nations, to England. We all know that England is really the father of modern art, yet do we not know this, that the individual fathers of modern art went down to poverty in their latter days. I am speaking of men like Crome, Constable, and others, who created an art in opposition to the national feeling itself, created it and brought it forward; and, not a quarter of a century afterwards, the French Government, recognizing the merit of such men as Crome, expended enormous sums in this country and the United States to discover the works of these men, in order that they might further reconstruct national art in France. France has recognized the virtue of art to the extent that foremost amongst her leading ministers, the Minister of Fine Art takes his place in the National Cabinet and Council of that country; England has recognized it, not by bringing its members into full communion with its Cabinet ministers, but by a sort of silent recognition that is more powerful; the United States has endeavoured to do it in a way; but in Canada we have not in the slightest sense, I think, recognized the fact that a national life cannot be really great, that a people cannot really rise to the full measure of their true manhood, without the integral part, without the very life itself being directed in some measure by the presence of art.

We may heap treasures up where the moth and rust cannot corrupt; the treasures heaped may be almost worthless. There is a greater treasure than even the treasure of a reputation at times; there is the treasure of the recognition of every quality that is a part of ourselves, part of our nation, so that the song of the humblest poet shall not pass silently out. It has been so in many ages, and we, if we take it thoroughly, thoughtfully, and wisely, can gather from the song something that will be of incalculable value if the one who sings it sings it from his heart and with prophetic thought. The same may be said of utterances from the pulpit and the stage, but infinitely greater than either of these is the power that lies in art itself. Take sculpture and painting, for instance; how the illustration of our national life may be made in many ways that would have an effect upon the generation in which we live, and upon succeeding generations. The "Fathers of Confederation" is a painting dear to us, because we recollect the faces of those who consolidated the great Dominion as it is; and we feel that in the life of our own country the time has arrived when something of a powerful character should be produced upon the canvas, and that every effort should be made, not only for the development of Canada, not only to perpetuate what has been accomplished, but in the greater development of all the nations that are now to form the consolidation of the British Empire.

The Institution which I have the honour to-day of addressing, and of which I am a member, I believe has for its object the consolidation of the entire Empire;

that object, I believe, cannot be accomplished without a full recognition of art—art in its every sense, and of literature. I believe there should be brought together a body of men, representative, from all the colonies of the British Empire, and that body of men should use their influence in directing the thought so that whilst commerce and literature are moving along, art will become not only a reflector of the people, but even the standard bearer, bearing the inscribed banners that will lead the coming nations into the great procession of national affairs. There is, perhaps, in this country, as in other countries of the Anglo-Saxon life, a feeling that British art is not good art; from what source it came I cannot tell, but if one will carefully look over the product of the English school, and see the motive, the intention of it, he will find that the British art is purer, loftier, and more philosophical in its tendency than that of any other country. It shows less of the passion, more of the calm, the prudent, the just and the righteous; it is peculiarly an art of Anglo-Saxon development, and through it and by it we may be able to assist, in some way, the pulpit, the judge, may I say, on the bench, by illustrations in commemoration of great themes. We should encourage British art, and we have not done so.

It is a strange commentary that in Canada there are fewer British pictures shown than in any other of our colonies. The Australian colonies have purchased a large number of pictures from the British Exhibitions, from the Royal Academy, and they have actually galleries in that great colony purely for the purpose of showing British art. Now, sir, in the Dominion of Canada, there is no such collection made of British pictures. We have, strange to say, a feeling for the art of all countries excepting England. Why should we be so alienated from British art, and fond of singing the praises of British heroes? I cannot understand it. To us, it should most directly appeal, because we are a part of it; three thousand miles is not so far that we cannot be in touch in five minutes with the people of England. We read the Academy notes, and study carefully what is being done, yet with all that continuing for years, we have not made a direct purchase from the Academy, nor have we recognized the men who are standing in the very front of all the artists of all the nations of Europe. We are content to say they are British, but we do not purchase their pictures. We stand the only colony in the British Empire that has not made a direct purchase of British pictures. I think that this idea to-day might be worth taking away with us, and when each year rolls round or such period of time evolves, when another artist will speak, there may be impressed the necessity of recognizing in this country the ability of the British artist, the necessity of recognizing the artists of New Zealand and Australia, and, while the compliment may be paid to them that they have produced great men, should not they, in turn, recognize what we are doing, and thus a closer tie be woven, a better portion of the fabric, than that which has been in the past.



Major-General Francis Vinton Greene.

NIAGARA POWER AND THE FUTURE OF ONTARIO.

Address by Major-General Francis Vinton Greene, of Buffalo, N.Y., before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 10th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

Allow me to express my high appreciation of the honour of being invited to address this Club. If I were a Canadian and lived in Toronto I should certainly be one of its members and do all in my power to promote the objects for which it exists. Before coming to the subject upon which you have asked me to speak I should like to take a portion of my time in saying a few words concerning the objects of this Club, and concerning the probable future of Canada and its relations to Great Britain and to the United States.

Through the courtesy of your Secretary I have seen the addresses delivered in this Club during the two preceding years, and I have read all or nearly all of them with much interest and instruction. I was particularly impressed by Mr. Wilfred Campbell's speech on Imperialism in Canada, in November, 1904; and by the debate between Mr. Foss and Dr. Montague on the relations of the United States with Canada and Great Britain at the meeting in January, 1905. Mr. Campbell enunciates certain fundamental doctrines, the nature of which is only just beginning to be appreciated. He speaks of "that new imperialism which is taking possession of the modern world. It is, after all, the constructive form which the democracy is taking after its destructive period has passed; and which men like Mr. Goldwin Smith have been looking for but have not recognized. Just as Christianity was evolved out of Judaism, so the present Imperialistic movement is coming up as the constructive period of the democracy." And again, "all progressive communities, all organizations, and progressive men of to-day are consciously or unconsciously Imperialists. * * * It is decidedly time to point out in no uncertain manner that Imperialism is not a mere desire of a portion of ours or any people; but that it is a great force in the modern world, swaying us all; that it is here to stay until it has performed its work of reconstructing the modern democracy." And finally he says: "To-day the men who are little Englanders, little Irelanders and little Canadians are behind the time in their political ideas. Many of them are so far bemuddled in Eighteenth Century issues, Eighteenth Century bitterness and Eighteenth Century ideals long accomplished, that they have forgotten that this is the Twentieth Century. They have forgotten that much has taken place in the interval; that the world of to-day has outgrown mere expansion and individualistic antagonism; that life has become more self-controlled, that man's view, as a whole, is larger, saner and more centralized. They do not see that the foes to be fought to-day are not old world tyrannies, but the evils of ignorance and materialism and their attending tyrannies everywhere, especially on this continent."

These are striking propositions, especially novel to a generation which has inherited from its forefathers so firm a belief in the universality and finality of the political ideas which were put into operation at the close of the Eighteenth Century; and yet, it may possibly be that they are fundamental truths which, while not yet self-evident, may come to be so considered a few years hence. The application of these general principles to the special problems in Canada takes the form, as stated by every speaker who has touched upon the subject before this Club, of a closer alliance between Great Britain and all her English-speaking colonies throughout the world, and I believe that such an alliance or consolidation will be distinctly for the welfare of mankind, and the advancement of civilization. The policy of free trade in business and disintegration in political ties advocated for two generations by Bright and Cobden and Gladstone has had its day. The United States have been developed on principles diametrically opposed to those which they advocated; and the phenomenal success of the great republic to the south of you has challenged the attention of the world, and led to a revision of the public sentiment which supported these statesmen during two generations in the nineteenth century. Whether Mr. Chamberlain has evolved the plan which will be adopted for the consolidation of the British Empire I do not pretend to say; but I do believe that some form of consolidation will be worked out and adopted, that the Cobden school of thought is now or soon will be extinct, and that never again will a British Minister say, as Disraeli said, "Those wretched colonies will be independent, too, in a few years and are a mill-stone around our necks." So far from this being the case, the fact is that the colonies are the main source of the future strength of Great Britain; and her prosperity, and almost her very existence, depend upon their development and their consolidation. It is the glory of England that she has founded these English-speaking colonies all over the world; and if she does not keep them and give them their full share in the common government of the Empire, the Empire will inevitably fall to pieces and she will become a small trading nation like Holland.

The debate between Mr. Foss and Dr. Montague was most interesting. Mr. Foss stated the position of the New England manufacturer, with his home market oversold and looking for a foreign market under reciprocity. Dr. Montague replied that however beneficial that might be to the New England manufacturer, he could not see in what way it would benefit Canada, which has just established her own manufactures and intends, if she can, to keep the home market for herself; thus adopting the policy which the United States has followed with such singular success for more than one hundred years. In the debate the probable future of Canada and its relations to Great Britain and the United States were much discussed, and this is certainly one of the most interesting questions of the present time. It has been said, I believe by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the Nineteenth Century belonged to the United States and the Twentieth Century to Canada. There is every reason to believe that this is quite true, in the sense that the development of the United States was the most important historical fact of the Nineteenth Century and the development of Canada will be the most important historical fact of the Twentieth Century. You start the Twentieth Century with practically the same population that we had at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, and you have the untold advantage of steam and electricity to aid you in your development. Your country is as large as ours, and after deducting the frozen wastes of the north and taking account only of that portion of Canada which is south of the 60th parallel—the latitude of St. Petersburg—you have an area greater than that of France, Germany, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Japan. Your soil is as fertile as theirs and these countries support a population of nearly 250,000,000. Three-fourths of that population live between the same parallels of latitude—42 and 60—as the portion of Canada which I have referred to, and while latitude is not the only element which determines climate, yet in the matter of climate the advantage is distinctly with Canada; for however it may have been in ancient times when the known world was limited to the shores of the Mediterranean, it certainly is true that during the last 300 or 400 years the world has been dominated by the northern races. Your climate not only grows the best wheat in the world but it makes grit in men.

Not only have you a vast extent of territory waiting to be occupied by the surplus population of the world, which surplus is likely constantly to increase as sanitation improves and wars decrease, but the resources of this vast land in mines, in forest and in fertile lands are fully equal, so far as I can see, to those of the United States with only two exceptions—you grow no cotton and your supplies of coal, while vast in extent, lie so far to the westward or eastward as to be almost inaccessible for Ontario. As against this Ontario has water powers, not alone at Niagara but on other streams widely scattered, which, when properly developed with the aid of electrical science, will probably make up for your deficiency in coal. Your finances are in splendid condition, your revenue for federal purposes being about $11.00 per capita against $9.00 per capita with us, and while your debt is much larger per capita than ours, yet it is much less than that of Great Britain and only one-third of that of France.

Your railways are at the rate of 3½ miles per thousand inhabitants, whereas ours are at the rate of only 2½ miles per thousand inhabitants. You have expended $85,000,000 for your canal system, or at the rate of $15.00 per capita. A similar expenditure by the United States would mean nearly $1,250,000,000, and great as is the work we are now undertaking at Panama, it is, by comparison with our resources, a small effort compared with that which you have successfully put forth in the canals connecting the lakes with the sea. Your system of public education is, I believe, excellent, and you have hitherto had the enormous advantage of being practically exempt from expenditures for military purposes. For the army, navy, fortifications and pensions the United States spends about $360,000,000 per annum, or about $4.50 per capita, and for similar purposes Great Britain spends nearly $320,000,000 or about $7.60 per capita. Canada, on the other hand, spends only about $4,000,000 per annum for such purposes, or about 70 cents per capita. That you can continue to enjoy this exemption as you grow in wealth and population seems improbable, but that it is an enormous advantage to you so long as it can be continued is beyond question.

It behooves my countrymen, as it seems to me, to study these problems with some care and decide what is to be their attitude toward their neighbour on the north, destined so soon to be the equal in wealth and population of a great nation. It was the mistake of England, or at least of its governing class and its representative statesmen, during the 80 years or more intervening between the War of 1812 and the War with Spain, to adopt toward the United States an air of condescension and arrogance, not unmixed at times with hatred and contempt. I say it was a mistake because it did not retard the growth of the United States one iota. It engendered a feeling of hostility which is only now subsiding, and in the end it left England more keen than any other nation for the support and friendship of the United States. Similarly I think the attitude of the United States towards Canada has in the past not been wise. There has been much loose talk of annexation without any serious thought whether annexation would be desirable for either or both countries. There was a time twenty years ago when reciprocity was popular in Canada, and when, by the exercise of proper tact, we might have secured the Canadian market almost as completely as our own market. We were not wise enough to avail ourselves of it, but took the attitude that if we failed to grant reciprocity to Canada we would force her to ask for admission into our Union. So far from doing that we forced her to work out her own salvation; and it has been worked out in a manner worthy of the very best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. As matters stand now, Canada has no favours to ask of anyone, either on this side of the Atlantic or on the other. As to Great Britain, it has been said that British sovereignty in Canada exists only so long as it is not exercised, and while, perhaps, in view of the loyal feeling now existing throughout Canada toward your mother country, you might hesitate to acknowledge the truth of such a statement, yet, I think, that in any matter which brings the question to a practical test you will find this statement not far wrong.

As to Canadian sentiment towards the United States, so far as one may judge from the speeches delivered in this Club, from the attitude of the Press and from what is heard in conversation in Canada, the annexation sentiment, which did exist to some extent at one time, has now practically died out, and any such proposition, if submitted to your electors, would be defeated by a vote of at least one to ten. Just what your future is to be, whether it is to be in a consolidation of the British Empire, or in absolute independence as a great nation, or in some alliance with your powerful and still growing neighbour to the south, I do not undertake to say; but of this I am absolutely certain, and that is, that your future will be determined by yourselves; that you have reached the position where you are absolute masters of your own destiny. As you work it out and as you grow greater year by year I think we, in the United States, will have the same feeling of respect and admiration for you that one strong, self-reliant, self-respecting man has for another; that your growth, although politically and commercially independent of us, cannot be but advantageous to us; and that in spite of the tariffs which now, and probably for a long time will, divide us, your growth must lead to a larger trade with us, and that with the constantly increasing facilities for communication and intercourse, there will be a constantly increasing intimacy and friendship which cannot fail to be of the highest mutual advantage.

I hope I may be pardoned for using up so much of my time in speaking of things with which you are so familiar, but I confess that I was ignorant of most or many of them until three years ago when I came to live near the Canadian frontier and to be identified with a Canadian corporation. The subject of the relations between Canada and the United States has since then become one of fascinating interest, and I only wish that something might arise to cause all my countrymen to be as much interested in the subject as its importance deserves.

And now as to Niagara Power, concerning which you have asked me to speak. I shall not weary you with descriptions of turbines, generators, transformers, power houses and transmission lines, for all of you, I think, have a very full knowledge of what has been done in the development of hydro-electric power in Niagara. Mr. Nicholls, the active head of one of the Canadian companies, gave a very full description of all of the Canadian developments, in this Club, just two years ago. Since then the development has gone on, and now the street cars at Syracuse on the east and Toronto on the west are operated by Niagara power, and between these two points, distant 250 miles from each other as the wires run, a variety of industries in the way of light, heat and power are dependent upon the adaptation and utilization of this mighty force.

But instead of going into any of the details on the mechanical or electrical or business side, I would rather speak to you on Niagara power in its international aspect, and in its relation to the future of Ontario. On my own side of the river public opinion in regard to Niagara seems to have crystallized into the cry, "Save the Falls." On your side of the river the only sentiment which I hear is, "Transmit and distribute the white coal at the lowest possible price." In the United States there is a feeling, largely due to misunderstanding, that the Falls are in danger of being destroyed, and this is supported by a sentiment practically unanimous that this must not be permitted. In Ontario no one believes that the Falls are in danger of being destroyed, and owing to the absence of coal in Ontario there is an almost unanimous sentiment that the future development of the industries of the Province is, in no small degree, dependent upon the development of Niagara power and its distribution over a wide area, either by means of government ownership or otherwise, at the lowest possible cost.

In the United States public sentiment has found expression in the Burton Bill adopted in Congress on the 29th of June, 1906, asserting the paramount rights of the United States against the rights of the State of New York and the riparian owners in the waters of the Niagara River; expressing the determination to control the navigation of the River, protect the integrity of the frontier and preserve the beauty of Niagara Falls; and thereupon forbidding the diversion of water on the American side from the Niagara River or any of its tributaries in the State of New York, for power purposes, without the written permit of the Secretary of War, and forbidding the introduction of electricity from the Canadian side of the Niagara River into the United States without a similar permit. Incidentally this law destroys the rights of riparian owners as they and their predecessors have believed them to exist for the last 200 years, and destroys them as completely as if a wall had been built at the river's edge of their property. On the Canadian side public opinion has found expression in the Beck law, assented to on April 23, 1906, giving to the Ontario Government the right to expropriate by judicial proceedings any or all power houses, transmission lines, and even, if desired, to expropriate the electric current itself, and appointing a Commission to regulate and control the distribution of Niagara power throughout the Province of Ontario.

In the United States the main object has seemed to be to preserve the Falls, and in Ontario to distribute the power from the Falls; and yet, after all, I do not believe that the two countries are seriously apart. I believe there is just as much sentiment in Ontario in favour of preserving the Falls, in case they are in any danger, as there is in the United States; but from better knowledge of the facts they are not excited about it because they do not believe that the Falls are in any danger of injury from any works now in progress or contemplated. In the United States I believe there is a sentiment as strong as that in Canada in favour of distributing the power as cheaply and as widely as possible. The International Waterways Commission, by unanimous report of both Sections, has said that to destroy the Falls would be a crime, and on this dictum I think they do not fear and need not fear contradiction from any source. The International Waterways Commission, after a most thorough and exhaustive study, made certain recommendations as to the diversion of water, and stated the amount of water which could not be exceeded without the possibility of injury to the appearance of the Falls, and while the United States Congress, in its legislation has limited the amount of water which can be diverted on the American side, and of electricity which can be transmitted from the Canadian side, to quantities much smaller than the quantities recommended by the Waterways Commission, yet the law by its terms remains in force for only three years; and if it is true, as those who are best posted concerning the facts believe, that the successive development of the works now projected will show no change in the appearance of the Falls, then it may reasonably be expected that the United States Congress will adopt the views of the Commission, which was created for the express purpose, among other things, of studying this question. And so I think it may be confidently predicted that, as misconception of the facts gives place to accurate knowledge of them, the future of Niagara will be worked out on these lines.

1. The Falls (to paraphrase Daniel Webster) must and shall be preserved.

2. The greatest amount of power consistent with the preservation of the Falls must and shall be developed and distributed as widely as possible at the lowest possible cost.

Of the importance of this power to Ontario there can be hardly any question. It is important to New York State, but New York is comparatively close to the coal fields and has no duty to pay on coal. Of the importance of power itself there is even less question. It is the fundamental prime mover of modern civilization. The only source of it is the sun's energy, which has been manifested in the past in the formation of coal and oil and gas; is now manifested in the tides and the winds; and in the future will be chiefly utilized in the energy of falling water, thanks to the recently discovered uses of electricity. The use of the energy of falling water is as old as history itself, but until near the beginning of the present century its application was limited to a few hundred yards from the spot where the water fell. Now, by converting the hydraulic energy into electricity, and by putting into that electricity an enormous pressure or voltage, the power can be transmitted at least 200 miles to advantage; and if the electrical art progresses as much in the next ten years as it has in the last ten years it will be feasible to transmit it 500 miles.

The use of falling water as a source of power is the most economical of all sources of power. By the sun's heat the water is evaporated from the sea, the lakes and the rivers, it is condensed in clouds, precipitated in rain or snow, falls upon the ground and again finds its way to the lakes and seas. It is perpetual motion, and the prime cause, the sun's energy, is so enormously abundant, that the loss of energy in creating this cycle of rising and falling water is inappreciable. The winds and the tides are also perpetual and involve no appreciable loss of energy, but no method has as yet been found of using them to advantage in the transmission of power. Possibly the invention of a suitable storage battery will bring the varying forces of the winds into use as a source of power to be transmitted by electricity; and, possibly, the same may be done in regard to the tides; but as yet this has not been accomplished. Coal, oil, gas, peat, and wood, as producers of steam, are all fundamentally wasteful. As the power is created these substances pass away in gases and vapours which in turn are absorbed by the soil and vegetation, and may again produce coal, oil, peat, and wood, but only after the lapse of millions of years; so that as the matter stands today water power is the only source of energy which does not involve destruction and waste. It has been well termed "white coal." Its use gives no form of noxious vapours, no noise, no smoke, no cinders. It is pre-eminently the power of a century *de luxe*. And as a demonstration of the control of gigantic forces by the brain of puny man it has no rival. Electricians can give you no adequate idea of what electricity is, but they can tell you with great accuracy what it does and can do, and how it can be regulated and controlled. It is a spectacle second only to the Falls themselves as a mighty manifestation of the works of God upon earth, to walk through one of the great power houses at Niagara, and in profound silence, with only a half dozen operators in sight, watch the wires and transformers and recording instruments through which is invisibly and noiselessly passing a titanic force on which depend the light, the transportation and many of the industries of hundreds of thousands of people, scores of miles away.

There are scores of things in the industrial and chemical world which can only be done by cheap electricity. One of them is the manufacture of aluminum, a metal which was unknown outside of the chemist's laboratory twenty years ago, and which now is manufactured for a thousand uses of man to the extent of nearly 20,000,000 pounds a year—although it is the lightest metal in existence. This metal was first produced for commercial purposes at Niagara, and it has been well said by Mr. Stetson that if Niagara power had done nothing else than manufacture this metal, at a price that brings it into so many varied uses, the development of Niagara power would still have been a land-mark in the advance of civilization.

To come down somewhat to details in regard to the advantages of this power for Ontario, I need only say that Ontario owns the northern shore of Lake Erie and the western bank of the Niagara River, and that Niagara power can be generated and distributed throughout all that portion of Ontario which lies between Toronto and Windsor, at a cost less than power can be produced by steam. To what extent you will use it is for your manufacturers themselves to say. Of course, power is not the only element in the cost of manufacture. Labour, raw material and transportation, are each more important, I believe, than power as elements of cost, but the power is, nevertheless, a very important element. In ordinary manufactures I believe a saving of say one-half in the cost of power means a saving of from 5 per cent. to 15 per cent. in the cost of the finished product; in the electro-chemical industries, such as aluminum, calcium carbide, carburundum, soda-ash, nitrogenous products, and the reduction of certain metals, a reduction of one-half in the price of power means a reduction of possibly 40 per cent. in the cost of the finished product. Certain industries of this last-named class require the very cheapest power, and cannot stand the cost of transmitting it. For such industries special facilities and advantages are present in that portion of Ontario between the Welland Canal and the Niagara River; having the benefit of the lake navigation and five lines of trunk railroads and power at a price almost unrivalled for cheapness. In other industries, such as agricultural implements, boots and shoes, hardware, textile fabrics, steel and iron works, the price of power is a less important factor and the business can stand the cost of transmission to the point where such industries are already developed, as they are at so many points in Ontario, rather than to stand the cost of pulling up stakes and moving down to the vicinity of the Niagara River.

It is not alone in manufactures that cheap power will prove advantageous, but also in lighting, possibly in heating, and certainly in many domestic uses, not alone in the great cities, but in the villages and on the farms. I believe the day is not far distant when practically every house in Ontario within two hundred miles of the Niagara River, will be lighted by electricity supplied by the power of the great Cataract. It will be running the sewing machines, the churns, the ice cream freezers, the ventilating fans, the house pump, the knife cleaner and sharpener, the dish-washing machine, the clothes-wringer and other parts of the laundry, and a host of other domestic utensils not yet invented but much thought about at the present time by a multitude of inventors.

But I fear if I continue, the Hon. Adam Beck will claim I am poaching on his preserves; for he has travelled the length and breadth of the land in the last few months, showing all the dwellers in Ontario what can be done with Niagara power, and in this aspect of the case possibly the subject is one which already wearies you. And yet it seems hard to believe that any man who has to work, either with his brains or his hands, for his daily living, can be weary of a subject on which his prosperity and his household bills so largely depend. And so, gentlemen, if an alien may be allowed to express an opinion on your internal affairs, I wish you all success in the spread of Imperialism, as you have defined it, in the consolidation of the British Empire with Canada as one of its most important factors, in the development of Niagara power to the greatest possible extent, always consistent with the preservation of the Falls, and in the distribution of this power at the lowest possible cost throughout the length and breadth of Ontario.

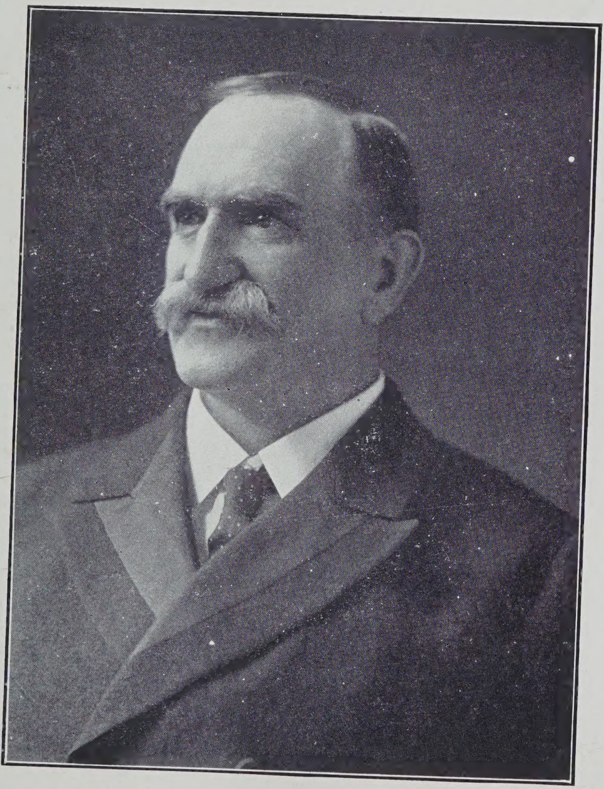
RAMBLES THROUGH THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Address by Mr. J. Graham Gow, New Zealand Government Trade Commissioner, Wellington, New Zealand, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 17th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I am very pleased to be here to-day with you and to have the opportunity of doing what I can to amuse you for half an hour by a little account of my rambles through the British Empire. I suppose the Empire Club idea means that we are all under one flag, doing as much as we can for one another. About six years ago I was appointed by the New Zealand Government to represent them all over the world, looking up over-sea markets. My first move was to visit South Africa, where I pushed our business, and was very well received. The merchants there promised to do as much as they could in the way of buying their goods from British colonies. The results of my trip to South Africa were very satisfactory, and my country subsidized lines of steamers between New Zealand and South Africa to the extent of 30,000 pounds a year.

From there, I went to England, where I was received right royally, and had an excellent welcome from all the merchants. I arrived there just after our young colonials had performed some gallant deeds in arms for the Empire. When I was announced as a New Zealander, I was enthusiastically received. It was a good introduction there, and we talked for a while, of course, about great deeds done by our boys, but I was there after business. I travelled around London, Manchester, Glasgow, and Bristol, and got the impression that there was a great market for our goods, especially in the west part of England. I requested my Government to ship goods to those ports, which they have done. They have sub-



Mr. J. Graham Gow.

New Zealand Trade Commissioner in Canada.

sidized steamers, which now go direct from New Zealand to the west parts of England.

It is all right to talk about the glorious deeds done in Africa by our colonials, but when you commence to talk business to the people it sometimes sets them back into the shell again. They say, "Well, that is all right enough, but we can get stuff from Russia, Germany, or France cheaper than from New Zealand." I was in Hull when a lot of butter arrived from Siberia. I found that the Russian Government subsidized steamers for a four days' journey, paying twenty thousand pounds, and competing against the sons of the Empire. I said, "I think, gentlemen, that it would be only fair for the British Government to put a tax on those goods, equal to the subsidy, so that we could compete on equal terms." We were handicapped by six weeks' freight to England, and competing against nations which were subsidized. I think it is only fair to make the Russians compete on the same level with us, put a tax on them, equal to the subsidy received from their Government.

In Lancashire, the great free trade part of England, I commenced to talk preferential tariffs, etc.—and I may say that I was trained and educated under our grand old premier, Dick Seddon.* When there, I commenced to talk about Great Britain doing something for the Colonies. I said that we could grow wheat to supply the world, and if we were sure of our market would commence to cultivate more land; but when you spoke to them of trying to give us a little fiscal advantage, they said: "No, you will never get any leading members of the English Government to adopt these views, protection is a thing of the past, and you should never mention such a thing in this country. Well, gentlemen, two years after that, what happened? Why, one of the greatest and brightest brains in the British Empire took up the views that I was then advocating through England. The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain adopted them, and it is said that the men who converted Joseph Chamberlain to these views were your Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Dick Seddon. After finishing my work in England, I received a message to proceed through Canada to Hong Kong. I did so. I passed through this country six years ago. I dropped off at Toronto for a day, went on to Winnipeg and to Vancouver, and then to Hong Kong. I found all the people there very loyal to the British flag. Hong Kong has a magnificent harbour, where you will see the fleets of all nations. They are a very enthusiastic crowd of Britishers there, and they sent their small contingent to Africa just as we did.

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* Note—Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon, who died not long after the delivery of this speech.

England may be still doing a large volume of trade—she must be by report—but she is not doing as much as she ought. Foreign nations are coming in with cheap freights which the English are not able to get because the other nations subsidize their boats. From Sydney you can get goods carried to Manilla and Hong Kong very cheaply. It is now time for Britain to look round and see how she can defend herself against these countries. British ships going into any American ports do not get the same accommodation as other vessels. In New Zealand, we have passed a Bill, two years ago, putting Americans, Germans, and other foreign nations all on the same footing. At one time steamers came from New York loaded with kerosene. They were going to deliver part of their cargo at Dunedin, part at Lyttelton, part at Wellington, and at Auckland, and while in these ports they immediately advertised a cheap freight outward to fill up their boats. On our New Zealand boats the usual freight is 15 shillings a ton to Dunedin and to Wellington. The American boats would advertise freight for 7 shillings 6 pence so as to fill up their cargoes. Seddon, who is a true Imperialist, said, "We must treat these people as they treat the British Empire," and he passed a Bill which enacted that these ships could come and deliver their goods and then pack up and go. No freight is allowed to be given them, and I think if other parts of the British Empire would treat foreigners as we did, then they would come to some terms with us.

At Shanghai, I was very well received, and found them very willing to have a preferential tariff with us, and to do all they could to improve business connections with us in every way. I went from Singapore to Penang, India. While there, I had a talk with business people about the preferential tariff, etc. These countries, as you know, export a lot of tea, and we allow teas from the British Empire to enter our country free, from Ceylon and India. From China, they must pay two pence a pound. This we have done to keep us in touch with the Empire. When in India, the war was still being talked of. It was stated in the papers that I was there, and several gentlemen who have fought and bled under the flag came to shake hands with me, because they had met so many New Zealanders in Africa. Speaking about loyalty, I think we British could get a great lesson from the Japanese. I have been twice in Japan, and met many of their officers, and Members of Parliament. The Japs are very loyal to their country and their Emperor. They are far more honoured to be left on the battlefield than returning home to receive the welcome of their brothers.

At the same time, the Japs are worth watching. I think, from a business point of view, they are morally the lowest in the world. The business men in Japan belong to the lowest grade. The Chinese get the name of being the straightest business men in the world. Their word is as good as their bond. When Japan was having trouble forty or fifty years ago, the merchants were the cowards of their country. They would not fight, but went down to the cities and became buyers and sellers, and they still remain the lowest grade in Japan. Now that they are doing business with the great Western nations, it is hoped that men of a higher caste may become merchants and try to purify the name there, and become straight merchants. You cannot trust them now, however. The silks, once sold by the yard, are now sold by weight. I saw a large order being packed up for a London house. I noticed several of the employees examining and measuring some underwear, casting some articles to one side and some to the other. I said to the merchant, "What does this mean?" He replied, "We have to measure everything, or they will cheat us, two inches on the chest or as much on the length." Fifty dozen were cast on one side to be returned. They are not fond of the British merchants there. The first time I was in Japan, tobacco was very cheap. I am a heavy smoker, and on my next trip was looking forward to getting cheap tobacco. I asked for a quarter of a pound of capstick, but found it was very much dearer then. A 250 per cent. war-tax was levied on all tobaccos used by the foreigners. The Japs used to import flour from America and Canada. Now they have built large mills through Japan. They are going to import the wheat and grind it themselves, so as to keep their men in work.

I returned after being all round the East. Got back to New Zealand, and was told by the Minister of Commerce that I was to return to London. I was very much pleased, as my wife and family were there. The Premier, however, brought the matter up in Council, and said, "I don't see why we should send Gow back to London. He has recommended that we spend thirty thousand pounds on steamers to Africa, and I recommend that he go to that country and see that the thing is properly carried through." In Africa I found a lot of opposition, from South America, in the way of mutton, butter, etc. Their mutton was a little cheaper than the mutton from the Colonies. I wondered to myself, "How can we upset this little game?" because I had to get business, as I was responsible for that thirty thousand pounds. I interviewed the Governors and Premiers and Members of Parliament. They asked me what I was after. I said, "The penny duty has been suspended during the time of the war. Now, you had better reinstate that tax on certain products." With a lot of talk and conversation they agreed that they would reinstate that penny a pound. Then I asked for a preferential tariff for New Zealand. "Let us get our beef and mutton in for a half-penny a pound."

From there, I wandered up to Johannesburg and Pretoria, had an interview with Lord Milner and others.

We talked the matter over for two or three hours. Lord Milner said, "I quite agree with you. I am anxious to assist you, but, Mr. Gow," he said, "I am afraid that I cannot do it. The Transvaal is a very expensive country to live in. When you propose to put a penny a pound on their beef and mutton, there will be a great outcry. And, really, we must keep quiet." I had seen Jameson, the Premier of Cape Town, and his Cabinet. He had agreed with me, so before I parted with Lord Milner, I said to him, "Well, I must say that I am going to get my way." The other Colonies agreed with me; three of the five provinces or states of British Africa. So, when they met two years afterwards to re-arrange their customs, this plan that I proposed to those Premiers came before them, and six months ago, it was carried. Now we have a preferential tariff between South Africa and the Colonies, and I would like to add, that if Dick Seddon had made up his mind it was a right thing to do, he would have done it and carried it.

I came back to England again. In England, there are many young men who apparently have to make up their minds as to whether they shall go into the Army or Navy, or the Church; or whether they will become politicians. I think the men who decide to be politicians should travel all over the British Empire, for two or three years, then, on going home, they would know something of the Colonies and their needs. Seven or eight years ago, in Samoa, there was a great tempest. At that time England, America, and Germany had the same rights for their ships to lie in the harbour of Samoa. There was a bit of fighting done there. Mr. Seddon, at that time, was anxious to send some volunteers to assist our bluejackets, but having the cables now, he had to apply for permission, and the plan was objected to. When the question of Samoa came up at home, Great Britain gave up our rights, and a British steamer is not allowed now to lie there. Samoa is given over to Germany in exchange for some little island, of which we know nothing. Seddon was very much annoyed when his advice was not taken. At that time, he was not very well, and he announced to the people of New Zealand that he was going away for his health. He was away for six weeks, lost to the world. He went, gentlemen, and annexed nine or ten islands in the Pacific. He said, "If Britain cannot look after herself, we must do it for her." He arranged for these nine or ten islands, and six months afterwards he sent over and planted our flag upon them, and now, we have harbours there, where the British battleships can lie within a day of Samoa.

I think that Britain ought to recognize the Colonies, and have Colonial representatives in England or in Britain to advise them what they ought to do. I think it is time for this. We know that the sons from the Colonies are quite able to fight alongside of the Englishmen, and the New Zealanders and Canadians can go to Bisley and win the cups from them, and I see no reason why such advice would not be very valuable. In Tokio, Japan, about a year ago, I was invited to a club to dinner by the editor and sub-editor of one of the Engish papers there. Of course, the proprietor was a Japanese. I enjoyed the dinner all right, and afterwards we were sitting alongside a fire, when up jumps the little Jap. He looked me over and said, "Do you know the dream of the Japanese?" I said, "No." "Well," he said, "we are going to have Hong Kong and the Philippines; from the Philippines we are going right down the Pacific, and we are going to have Australia and New Zealand." I thought it was up to me, so I looked him up and down (he looked like a little bantam), and said to him, "I belong to New Zealand. We have just annexed twelve islands in the Pacific. We are going to work up gradually and take in New Britain, New Guinea, Hong Kong, and finish up by annexing Japan." He could not stand me, and went away. One thing which I am surprised at now is the fear which many people have of the Yellow races. How many subjects have we got anyway? Between three and four hundred million, and why should we not use the blacks. If the English in the Boer War had accepted men such as the Maories, who offered their services at their own expense, the war would have been much shorter; but we could not accept their aid owing to their colour; and if, in that war, they had given Canadians and the Colonials a free hand to go right through South Africa, then they might have finished the war in a year. War is a serious thing, so hit hard and finish it as quickly as possible. I believe the Boers were afraid of the over-sea men. The men who struck most terror into the Boers were the Strathcona's. I consider that the Colonials are grown up. I do not see why England should look upon us as youngsters. We have privileges which they do not have in England. Our schools are better, and the boys remain longer at school. I do not see why they should not develop as good, if not better, brains than they do in England. I think it is up to Great Britain to take some of our bright men once or twice a year as an advisory board for the British Empire. Well, gentlemen, if you have any questions, I shall be most happy to answer them now or to meet you after the meeting and have a chat about my country. Of course, you have got a great country here, and I like Canadians who are proud of being Canadians; still, while you have a great country, I represent a wonderful little country, New Zealand. We export more per head than any other part of the British Empire, and our country, per head, is the richest country in the British Empire. We were the first to send troops to Africa, and we sent more, according to population, than any other part of the British Empire.

THE MACHINE IN HONEST HANDS.

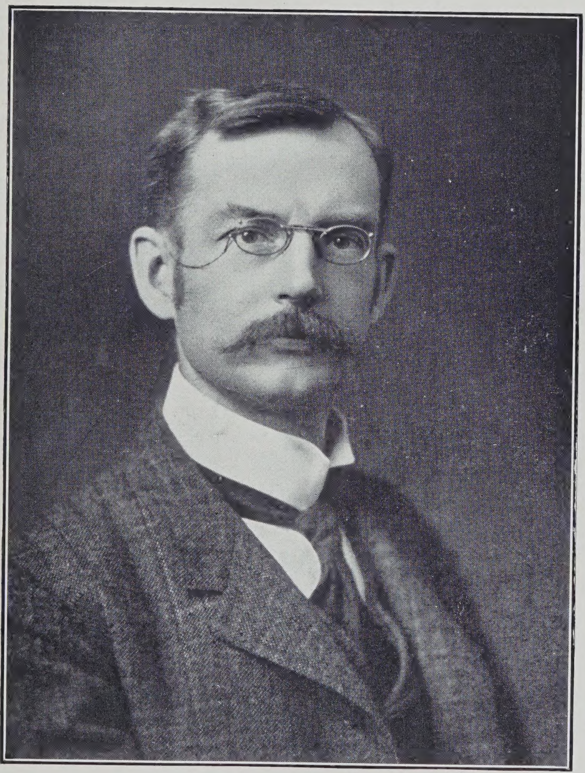
Address by Mr. Herbert B. Ames, M.P., of Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 24th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Empire Club,—

The honour of addressing your Club at one of these luncheons, internationally famed, is an honour that I very highly appreciate, and what I wish to say this afternoon will represent to you certain sincere convictions with which I may not expect you all to coincide, but the earnestness and honesty of which you will be, I know, prepared to admit. I wish to speak to the topic, which, perhaps, is not very intelligible as printed: " The Machine in Honest Hands."

We of Canada are exceedingly fortunate in having what I believe to be the best form of government known in any age or in any land. We, by inheritance, come into the experience of our forefathers, and to us is given what they, for many centuries, struggled for. We have the British constitution that has been gradually evolved, improved, modified, and brought down to the present day, and that in the fullness of time was transplanted here in Canada, has become adapted to Canadian civilization, has grown and here borne its best fruitage. That has come to us, and whenever we stop for a moment to think of it, we Canadians cannot be otherwise than highly appreciative, and it is desirable, at times, that we should also think of the responsibility that this great gift carries with it.

Now, if I interpret rightly the central idea of the British constitution, as we know it to-day in Canada, it is that the sovereign power rests with the people. Many centuries ago, when the forms of government were much more simple than they are to-day, as in Athens for example, Demosthenes and Æschines would present them-



Mr. Herbert B. Ames, M.P., Montreal.

selves before a popular assembly, and would plead, each in turn, for peace or for war, as the case might be. And the assembled gathering, by popular outcry, or by show of hands, declared as to which of the resolutions, presented by the rival orators, had their support. That was in the days when government was simple. We have passed beyond those days. We no longer have popular gatherings which declare themselves on public questions, their public declaration having the force of law. To-day we are governed by representatives. We choose men who shall be entrusted with the great powers which are ours, for the choice of those representatives is both complex and elaborate. It is intended that that choice shall be the free, the unbiased choice of a sovereign people. But law stops at that point. We find, however, that this choice is not left to haphazard. We find that there are influences at work to endeavour to persuade those who have the right of election in favour of a platform, a party, a candidate. We find that there is oftentimes organization of influence at work in support of a candidate, and now this leads me to what I purpose to give you as my definition of the "machine." The machine is an organization, actively at work to influence the choice of a body of electors, with regard to who shall represent them.

Now, I think you will see that there is nothing vicious in the machine, as so described *per se*. I think you will admit that machines exist wherever there is an election. You may have a machine, not only in Parliamentary provincial politics, but you may have a machine in a school board election, in a vestry election, board of trade election, in a secret society election, even in a debating club election; you might almost have a machine in an Empire Club election. So that the machine idea is practically universal or may become such wherever an election can take place. The term, however, as a rule, has a sinister significance. We are accustomed to attach to the word "machine" corruption in elections, debauchery in politics, the dying struggle of a Government that no longer holds the confidence of the people; but I claim that this definition is wholly foreign and unnecessary, and my purpose in speaking to you this afternoon, to a body of influential representative men in this great city of Toronto, is this—in order, if possible, to convince you to accept, what I believe to be true: namely, that it is both possible and desirable that there should be a machine, and that that machine should be in honest hands.

I think we all, throughout this Dominion of Canada, have bowed our heads in shame at the disclosures of electoral corruption that have been from time to time made. I know we have done so in our Province, for our sins, and unfortunately every other Province in that respect does not differ greatly from my own, and we asked ourselves, why is this? Is it necessary, is it inherent in our form of government that electoral corruption should exist? We go to the practical politician and this is what he says: " Syllogism! we must win; to win we must use corrupt means; consequently we must use corrupt means." Very simple, and that is the generally accepted doctrine of the practical politician. I would not undertake to set up my humble judgment in controversy with many other men who have had far more experience than I in political life, but, I would like to say to this gathering of Toronto men, that my fifteen years' experience has convinced me that that syllogism is false and erroneous. In our city of Montreal, which, I think, does not differ in general conditions from other cities of Canada, we have had electoral corruption and probably will continue to have it for some years to come, but we have also had an exhibition of the fact that a corrupt machine can sometimes be broken and put out of business by an honest machine. For several years we had an up-hill fight with a corrupt administration in municipal politics. They controlled all of the accessories which are generally considered adequate to keep a party or a group in power. They were extravagant; they were greedy; they were unscrupulous; and yet we fought them for seven years, each year gaining a little ground, until finally, in 1900, a reformed administration had a majority in the City Council. That campaign was carried on along clean lines from start to finish, but we were not satisfied with that alone. We made the other fellows fight their elections cleanly, too, or stand the consequences, and when we got a clean, moral issue before the people of a ward, and when the corruption was eliminated from the contest, the better man won every time, and he always will.

If I may be excused for a personal reference, permit me to say we had a similar experience in 1904. The organization that was at my back in that election was similar in character to that which had done such valued service in our municipal fights, and I can say without fear of contradiction, for I know what I affirm, that in the Parliamentary election of 1904 there was not one vote corruptly influenced or personated on the side which I represented. Now, what I say was done in my constituency and what was done in the municipal elections of Montreal I believe can be done, *mutatis mutandis,* in every constituency of Canada. If I did not believe that to be true I would lose faith in the hope of our great country, notwithstanding its magnificent resources, and notwithstanding its noble men. Possibly you may be interested, if I may be allowed a few minutes to go into detail, in some slight description of the method which we employed in operating our honest machine in Montreal. It does not differ very much in the main features from an ordinary electoral organization, with which, I suppose, you are all familiar. It may possibly be a little tedious in the numerous details, but I desire, above all things, to be practical, and I trust that what I may say may contain in some portion of it some suggestion that may assist others equally desirous with myself of seeing politics purified, and so I will, with your permission, give you a slight description of the detail of organization which may be said to make up an honest machine.

There are four classes of activities, I may almost say four component working parts, of an honest electoral machine. First of all, there is the preparatory work. It is desirable that in every constituency there should be at least two political clubs, active, wide-awake organizations. As members of each club there should be every man who believes that the principles of that party are the best for the governance of Canada. The officers of that club should be men who have the respect of the entire community. From time to time debates and discussions should be carried on that will bring a knowledge of public questions to the members, and arouse their interest in them. And I would further advocate that the English system be adopted of having a paid secretary who can devote his entire time to the details of the routine work which must come to a political club. One of the prime objects of the creation of a political club is in order that it may supervise the work of preparing the voters' lists. When the time of revision comes this club should overlook the striking from the list of names of those persons who have no right to be there and the adding of names which should be there. And when the lists have been perfected and signed and become official, it requires also constant supervision in order that the names of dead persons, the names of persons who have removed from the city may be noted, and in order that changes of address may also be noted. All this is preparatory to the election. The Germans have a proverb that "To be well soaped is half shaved," and nothing is truer in elections than that proverb. To have your lists in good shape is half the battle in an election fight, as everyone of you who has engaged in practical work knows, and I think you will all admit that it is not necessary that there be a corrupt element of any kind in the work that I have described.

The next component part of an electoral organization is the influencing of public opinion. In the old times this was left, for the most part, to public meetings. These, to a considerable extent, are now being replaced by newspapers, by campaign literature, pamphlets, etc. Any of you who are in the advertising business, or who have known what it is to promote, let us say, a patent medicine, know that a lot of ingenuity can be expended in getting the public to read what you print, and I will guarantee that a truly ingenious man could make every man, woman and child in Toronto read a statement commending his wares, in three months, if he set out to do it; but he would have to use discretion and tact, and so to bring the facts before an elector one needs to not forget that people are influenced, not in masses, but some by one view of a question and some by another. When an election is imminent the next phase, of course, is the classification of the vote. It is necessary that steps be taken to ascertain who are favourable, who are unfavourable, and who are doubtful. It need not be necessary in such a canvass that influence be brought to bear to change the opinions of people who have already made up their mind, but the doubtful vote becomes the possession of the personal friends of the candidate, and the hand-picking of fruit in that quarter oft-times constitutes the majority when an election arrives.

The third phase of the machine comes next in evidence, and that is getting out the vote. It consists of the technical work performed usually by a paid office staff, of notifying every elector as to the place of the polls; and we have added a notice served upon every business man at his place of business, which he opens on the morning of the election. When he comes down to business, he is met with letters an inch high. "Have you voted? Remember, it is election day." Then comes the task of getting out your vote, and we have adopted, in Montreal, a system probably similar to that in vogue in other places, consisting of a team of five men to each poll. It works in this way. First of all there is the scrutineer. I do not know whether you are troubled by personation in Toronto, but with us it is the worst thing that we are up against in any election in the city of Montreal. We have, again and again, seen elections stolen by gangs of personators, but we have brought that to an end in this way: We have had a canvass made of every elector entitled to vote in a given constituency, and an accurate written description taken of him. I had fifteen thousand of these descriptions in my office, in one year. The card contains the following particulars of the voter: his height, his build, his complexion, the colour of his eyes, the colour of his hair, and any peculiarities—and a trained canvasser can pick a peculiarity out of almost every man that he meets. That package of cards is placed in the hands of the scrutineer of every poll. He does not know how the man is going to vote; it makes no difference to him; he is an honest man and is put there to do one thing—to see that only the men that have a right to vote, and the right men, poll at that poll, and he does it. Ay! and he does something more. He generally knows the election law better than the returning officer, and he sees that the returning officer does his duty, as well.

Number two in connection with the working of the group is the telephone man. He has a list of all those supposed to be favourable at that poll, with the business telephone of every man. He spends his day at the telephone, and he becomes a veritable nuisance to the business man who does not vote. His phone rings every half hour. "Have you voted, Sir?" Sometimes the business man in sheer dispair drops his letters and votes before he can do any work. Next comes the poll captain. He stands at the door of the poll. He has in his hand a pad which contains a little slip of paper for every supposedly favourable voter. As a man steps up to the poll, he says, politely, "Your name, please?" and if it be one for whom he has a slip, he detaches the slip and puts it in his pocket. So he keeps on all day, taking out the slips as people vote, and as the day wears on, he notices that so-and-so and so-and-so have not voted. He detaches the necessary slip and gives it to one of his hustlers, and that hustler never lets up until he lands his man. There is a poll captain's book that was used in my election, and there was one unfortunate that escaped. (Laughter.)

Now, there is one other phase of electoral organization quite as important, and that is known as "protection"—protective measures to make sure that the game is played according to the rules. Now, a man who sets out to win an election on fair lines has a right to expect, ay, and he has a right to demand, that his opponent do the same thing. He has a right to serve notice on him in advance, and say, "My friend, is it to be peace or war? Will you play the game according to rules or shall I make you?" Play it with two clean machines in the field, and the best man wins. If an honest machine is up against a dishonest machine, and one candidate agrees to fair play and the other won't do it, what is he to do? Do? He has simply to show the other man no mercy. Personation can be stopped, as I showed here by the descriptive cards. Bribery is usually detectable, but, unfortunately, it cannot be discovered until after the fight is over. If your election has been taken from you by corrupt means, protest your opponent and unseat him, and if you carried your own election cleanly, you have no fear of a counter petition, and no fear of a protest, and when a man is in a position that he can look the whole world in the face and say, "In my election there was no rascality, if you stole the goods, sir, step down and out," then he is able to claim what belongs to him, and insist upon getting it, and if a seat is stolen from an honest man it is his business to follow the thief until he drops the goods. If I had an election fund of five thousand dollars to spend, I would put half of it in the bank for that purpose.

Now, I want to speak just a word of an interesting experiment. Only three months ago, in Montreal, we had a by-election in St. Anne's Division. The good people of this Division have for many years taken a pleasurable interest in the exciting, and from their point of view, harmless sport of personation. They found it invigorating and not without its emoluments, and as both sides engaged in it to the fullest extent of their ability, nobody was presumed to be seriously aggrieved. But we had a by-election there in the month of November, and we decided that we would not have any personation, just by way of a refreshing experiment. So there was organized in Montreal what was known as the "Volunteer Electoral League," drawn from both political parties in about equal proportion. A Liberal member of the Local House, and a Conservative member of the Dominion House, were the two honorary presidents. This organization served word upon both candidates, that if they would eliminate personation from their calculations they would provide them with the necessary scrutineers and see that the game was played according to the rules. Both candidates consented, and in every poll there was placed a Liberal and a Conservative scrutineer; and those two men saw that the vote was honestly cast in that Division, and not one personation occurred during the entire day. Now, we have no hesitation in Montreal, we Conservatives, in putting a Liberal in to watch the poll. There is nothing on the descriptive card that shows the sentiment of the elector. I don't care whether my scrutineer knows in advance who are the blues, and who are the reds; all I want of him is to see to it that the vote is honestly polled and fairly counted. If he will do that he can be anything he likes. Now, I believe that is an evidence of an honest machine, doing one particular bit of work. If two other organizations, a Liberal and a Conservative, each equally honest, were doing the rest of the work, we would have the ideal election.

Some time ago, I wrote an article along these lines for the *Canadian Magazine,* and it was followed by an anonymous article, signed by "A Politician," who raised two objections to the plan which I advocated; the first, that it was a very costly method, and second, that it required a large number of volunteers. Perhaps I may devote just a moment to this criticism, because it is a very pertinent criticism. It is a trifle costly, that I admit. City constituencies are large, the vote is constantly changing. Anyone who has been in such an election knows that if you want to get out the vote, even spending your money legitimately, it requires a considerable amount. But unless I am wrong in my concept of the situation, a clean candidate who desires to serve his country is not frightened at the amount of his subscription so much as he is at the fear that it will be corruptly used and exposure and disgrace will follow. Now, I do not think you would find very much difficulty here in Toronto in getting the men who are able to represent you in the various Assemblies to stand as candidates and put up their own expenses, for that matter, if they felt perfectly positive that every dollar would be legitimately and honourably spent, and if they did not have hanging over them the fear of the Court; the fear of unseating and disqualification; the fear of newspaper notoriety; of ignominy and disgrace; and if you have such candidates, so eminently fit to represent you, but who are not blessed with this world's goods to bear their own expenses, I am sure there are plenty of loyal men in Toronto glad to subscribe if they felt that the money, every dollar, every cent of it, was used honestly and legitimately and properly.

Such an organization as I have described requires many volunteers. Yes, it does. If I remember rightly, in my constituency we had three hundred volunteers. It ought not to be difficult to get volunteers if your cause is good. It was not difficult for Jerome and Folk and Weaver in the great moral reforms that swept the cities of the United States. It was the great volunteer enthusiasm that carried them through, and broke the machines that stood in the way. That is not the difficulty. The difficulty is that you try to mix oil and water. You ask a clean young Canadian to work alongside of a thief and a thug. He won't do it, and you don't blame him for not doing it. And do you suppose that our politicians elect to have dishonest and dishonourable men run their elections? Do you think they do it because they like it? That they enter into entanglements and make promises which they blush to acknowledge because they enjoy that sort of thing? They do it because they are forced to do it, because they cannot get any other kind of worker. Just so soon as the honest men of this or any other community are prepared to volunteer and are prepared to take up the organization that has been carefully prepared for them, and carry it through to a successful finish, every politician will gladly discard that element which has previously run his election and will accept the loyal volunteers' support.

Just a word and I am through, and it is this. We here in Canada are upon the threshold of a new century and are entering upon a year, I believe, of great development and of great prosperity and success. We have phenomenal advantages and our national assets are as yet uninventoried, but there is a danger and a great danger. It is the danger that we forget what it has cost to get for us the liberty we enjoy; that we forget the struggles of centuries whereby these liberties have come down to us; that we forget the long years between the Magna Charta and the Restoration; that we forget the 150 years' struggle to wipe out the rotten boroughs and widen the franchise of England; that we forget the nineteenth century in which the successive Acts were passed in order to take political corruption out of England; and that we forget what happened in our own land and the struggles of those who got for us truly representative and responsible government. And now we have got it, and the people are supreme, and the ballot is the method by which they choose their representatives, are we going to allow that instrument whereby we elect the men who make our laws, whereby we determine who shall rule this country—are we going to allow that right and privilege to slip from us? I trow not, unless I mistake the sentiments which actuate the men whom I see before me here to-day. And yet that is the danger, and how is the danger to be met? A man says, "I would not be guilty of a corrupt act in elections, indeed I would not; I always poll my vote and I poll it conscientiously, and my duty ends there. What more can I do?" I will tell you. Every man is individually responsible not only for the evils he commits, but for the evils he might prevent. Are you preventing all the electoral evil that you are able to in the city of Toronto, each man of you here to-day? Are you doing it? If you are, you are living up to that responsibility. If you are not, you are failing in that responsibility.

I believe that careful organization such as I have described can be made in any constituency in the Dominion of Canada. I believe that when the machine has been put in order it can be run by the clean and the decent element of Canada. I believe that every candidate who is fit to represent you in any elective body would rather have you run his machine than to have the corrupt element run his machine. Now, gentlemen, it is up to you, whether you are going to take into your own hands this electoral organization or whether you are going to leave it to men of whose acts you cannot but be ashamed. You ask me how it is possible to stop electoral abuse. It is possible when the honest and decent men wake up to the fact that they are interested in it, and take their part side by side, shoulder by shoulder, in manning the political organizations of both parties and insisting that those organizations shall be run honestly and truly in the fear of God. And when that comes about you will get the best men the country can offer, who will be willing to stand for office.

You sometimes wonder why you do not get the best men. You can see why you don't get them. A self-respecting man doesn't want to stand the chances of being dragged through an election Court and having his family and everyone throughout his own connection blush for him; but if he felt that behind him there was a body of men who felt as he did as to the value of the ballot, and that such men would rally to his support, the very best men on both sides would present themselves. The other day I heard that the Liberals were organizing in my constituency. I said, "Who are organizing?" They told me. "Good," I said. "These are the kind of men I want to see run the machine in my constituency, and if they can beat me, they are welcome to the seat. Let the best man win." And that is the way pretty nearly every politician that respects himself will look upon it, if you will give him a chance, and the support which he deserves. For we can eradicate from this political system of ours the corruption that has crept into it. If we can elect by clean, honest means, the right kind of men, our country will be guided out into a great and wonderful future, and we will step in and possess the land which God in his great bounty has given to the people of Canada. Gentlemen, I thank you.

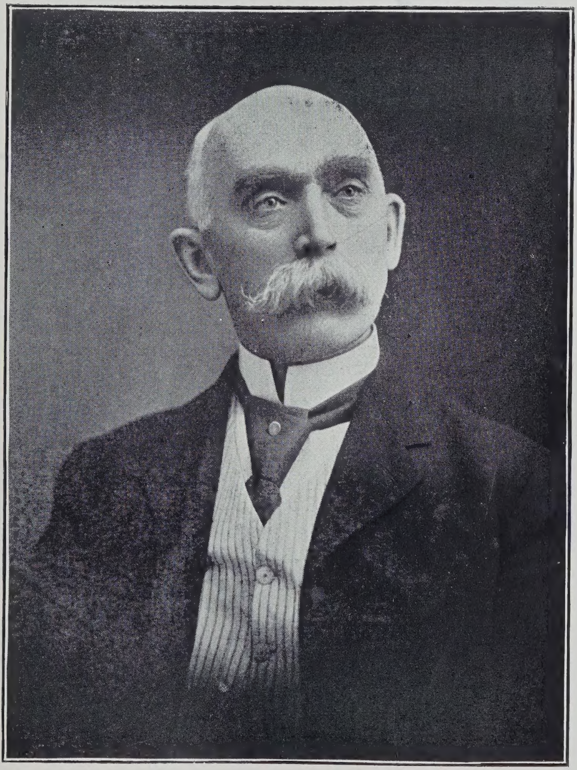
CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY AND THE INCREASE OF IMMIGRATION.

Address by Mr. P. H. Bryce, M.A., M.D., Chief Medical Officer of the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 31st, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—

In the few remarks I propose to make to-day on the subject set down in your programme, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that we have to deal with a situation growing out of new conditions in this country—such as the fact that within five years the population of Toronto has grown from 208,000, according to the Census, to 251,000, according to your last municipal census; Winnipeg has grown from 48,000 to 92,000; and Montreal has grown from 267,000 to some 300,000, or 400,000 with the suburbs. That is the situation which we have to deal with in this country, and which has developed in the last five or six years. If we think of Canada as a country along with its provinces, cities, towns and villages, we have to realize the fact that a country is an organism and as truly subject to the laws of evolution as is any other individual organism in the vegetable or in the animal world.

To make this point more precise, I would say that physiology, which deals with the life processes in animals and in plants, utilizes every known science which we have developed. For instance, physics is made use of in the study of the phenomena of sound and light; hydraulics is made use of to study the circulation of the blood; mechanics, in dealing with the locomotion and equilibrium of the body; the laws of gases tell us the relations of the outside air to the body and the lungs; chemistry tells us all about the metabolism which goes on in the tissues and in the food; and finally we take a



Dr. P. H. Bryce.

Chief Medical Officer Department of the Interior, Ottawa.

look at the individual cell itself through a microscope and there study the individual unit that goes to make up the total organism which we call man.

If we apply this process of looking at things to society, we shall see perfectly well that in order to study society intelligently, we have to look upon it as an organism made up of individual units, just as the cells make up the individual body. That is to say, society must be studied in connection with, or in relation to its surroundings, its environment, whether external to the body or internal to the body. With regard to the external environment of the individual who goes to make up society, we naturally study him in relation to the climate in which he lives, the kind and quality of food he has to use, the extent and construction of his houses and his workshops, and finally with regard to the ventilation, lighting and draining of those particular houses and workshops which are his habitation. If we look at the individual who helps to make up this society, with regard to the internal environment, we have to see that his internal environment is made up of sights and sounds which are carried to him through the senses, and help to form his ideas; in other words, his educational environment or that which goes to make up the conscious self of the individual. We say, then, that society as a whole, of the city of Toronto, the whole country of Canada, must be made up and measured in accordance with the goodness of that individual environment.

I propose, then, for a few moments after this general statement, to turn to the situation as we find it in Toronto to-day and in our other large cities, due, mainly, to the fact that we have seen Canada grow enormously in population during a period of five or six years. In order to understand it (I shall not trouble you with many figures, but would ask you to carry these in your mind) I would say that Ontario, according to our immigration returns, has received in five years, ending last June, 134,000 immigrants, of whom a large proportion have been British. Last year, we had 52,000 people come into Ontario, of this number we had 40,600 British, 1,902 Hebrews, 3,400 Italians, and 6,700 of other foreign races. Whether they remained in Ontario or not does not seriously affect our question or the argument. These people, as I have shown, have, I am glad to repeat, been increasingly British in the numbers that have come into Canada during the last five years. Turning to the distribution of these people, we have to note that the distribution has been remarkable in the fact that Mr. Southworth, of the Ontario Bureau of Immigration here, tells me that the British who were not artisans have been sent to the farmers of the country, the artisans have been found work here and in many other places, and the community is constantly crying out for more help. The Italian has almost wholly gone out on to railway work. We have then left 2,000 Hebrews, and some of these have gone into the Temiskaming district and begun settlements there. The balance have, we assume, remained in this or other cities. It is to this wonderful increase and to the distribution that I wish particularly to ask your sympathetic attention.

That the British follow their instincts, the peculiar instincts of the Teuton, whatever country he has lived in or been brought to, is shown in the fact that in the suburbs and in the outlying parts of the city, we have hundreds and thousands of houses, first shacks, put up two or three years ago, which have now become good houses, filled with British-thinking, British-speaking, British-acting citizens. It is, then, I take it, with the few others, relatively few but important in their nature, that we have to deal particularly. You all know very well that we have had in the city always a quarter which a few thousand foreigners have gradually filled in long before 1900. I remember having patients in St. John's ward years and years ago, amongst the foreigners, and I am glad to say, so far as my observation goes, that those foreigners in this city, filtering in gradually, have proved themselves very good citizens, and have come up very largely to our ideals of thinking and doing. I have pointed out that of the nearly two thousand Hebrews, four thousand Italians, and seven thousand other foreigners, who came into Ontario, some of them must necessarily have come to Toronto. Remember, that as they are foreign in language, in custom, in occupation in a large degree, and poor for the most part, it is only natural to suppose, what we know to be a fact, that those people have gone to those parts of the city where their countrymen have previously been living.

Thus we have the fact which we must deal with, that in the last several years we have had a notable number of persons, who are not British, coming in amongst us to fill a demand which is constantly being made here for labour, whether it be skilled or unskilled. Instead of criticizing, what every business man here is demanding in the shape of that class of labour, the person who fills the labour demand has, in my opinion, a right, remembering he is a foreigner in his ideals, remembering he is handicapped in language, he has a right, I repeat, not to our criticism, but to our sympathy and kindly interest; and it is to that particular point, the responsibility which we as citizens of Toronto have with regard to this relatively small population, that I desire for the moment, and for the rest of the term allotted me, to direct my remarks. We have absorbed, perfectly I think, the thousand Italians and some three thousand Jews, who were in Toronto, according to the Census of 1891. We must have added in each year since a definite number. This year, I pointed out, we have had 1900 Hebrews come in, and some 4,000 Italians and 6,000 others, largely Hungarians and Poles; so that we must have some of them here, and they have overflowed into St. John's ward and other parts of the city.

What is the situation regarding them, or what situation are they creating? Dr. McLaughlin, of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States, has said this very pointedly, with regard to the slums of New York. After pointing out that 65,000 Hebrews, in a single year, had located in New York, he said: "As to whether they create a worse condition than existed before, depends upon certain facts. The slum is due to the grasping landlord, on the one hand, and the puerile civic administration on the other. If slums exist, they are not caused by the immigrant, but the immigrant comes into the condition, which has already created or made the slums possible." That is exactly the point which we must remember. Let us look at it from a practical standpoint. I have tried to get some definite information in regard to the Toronto situation, by writing to a friend of mine, a man engaged in missionary work in the city, and he wrote me saying: "It would be impossible for me to describe to you the deplorable condition of some of our poorer citizens. In order to do so, I would have to go into details, which it would not be possible for me now, but I would like you to come up and spend a little while looking into this." He goes on to say: "We know what the remedy is, but we don't know how, or by whom the remedy is to be applied. We require time, money, management, probably most of all management." Now, if that is the situation as it exists in Toronto to-day, it is quite clear that the responsibility which rests upon us as good citizens must be met either individually or by united civic effort, and by none, I take it, can this be met better than through ideals and intelligent energy, which I see in the faces of the members of the Empire Club.

What will we do? In the city of Chicago, in 1900, what they called the "City Homes Association," was formed with the idea of making an exact study and investigation of some of the slum districts of Chicago. They appointed a Committee under a University professor of economics. He added to his Committee from various sources, and got in touch and in sympathy with the charity organizations of the city, the health authorities of the city, and the Homes Visiting Committee of the city. Their report was published in 1901, and I think is without exception the finest, most comprehensive, clear, and definite in its recommendations of any report on the subject that exists, and I seriously recommend to any of the gentlemen who are interested in the subject, to get hold of the Chicago Tenement House Report of 1901. Let me read a word or two from what the Secretary says in his preliminary remarks: "A few years ago the worst features of certain portions of the city appeared but temporary and transitional. The optimism of citizens interested in this phase of municipal development led to the belief that conditions would improve with time, in fact it could not have been known, until the results of such an inquiry as this were studied, that housing conditions are growing steadily worse, and that the slums now building are likely to repeat the history of other cities. An important factor, on the one hand, is the natural desire on the part of the landlords to cover every foot of their ground-space with large tenements, without sufficient provision for light and ventilation. On the other hand, it is the short-sighted policy of the municipality which permits the growth of housing conditions, for whose improvements years of agitation and vigourous effort will be necessary. The histories of many other cities show that the forces which built their slums are almost exactly those at work here. A radical change cannot be expected without steady pressure, and a steady cultivation of public opinion." That is what Mr. Robert Hunter says, in the preliminary pages of the Chicago report, and I recommend it to your serious consideration.

I am not saying for a moment that the few thousand immigrants we have in Toronto, of the poorer industrial class, have created as yet a condition which can be called serious. I think we may congratulate ourselves that they have not. Labour has been abundant, the distribution has been remarkable, the influence of the Salvation Army in caring for those that it brought in has been remarkable in sifting out the undesirable, and I know from our Departmental list that they have returned some who were unwilling to work—returned them very promptly to the Old Country, from which they came. That is all true, and Mr. Taylor, of the City Relief Office, tells me, or, rather, tells the public through statistics, that the relief of this last year 1906 was even less than that of 1905. Nevertheless, I learn that owing to the fact of the famine in houses for the labouring class, especially the absence of new houses in the congested district, the readiness with which the landlord can put in two where there was previously one, the tendency which there is among a certain class of landlords to do as they say in the Chicago Report, and similarly in the New York Report of 1894; "that they will fill up all their space, and build up their houses to Heaven, if they were allowed to do so, in order to lessen the amount of assessment, and the amount of ground rent."

If that is true, then, it is clear that someone, indeed all of us, must view the question from a practical standpoint, and see what measures are taken to prevent what has become elsewhere, as this gentleman remarks in Chicago, "a condition requiring years and years of agitation and heart-burnings in the City Council before improvements are really made." Our building by-law is a remarkably good by-law, in nearly all respects. My old friend, Robert McCallum, is an unusually capable and serious-minded man in his work, and if you will look into the particulars of that City building by-law with regard to the strength of buildings, materials and the kind of drainage that is required, the kind of house on a certain sized piece of land that is required, the impossibility of putting up houses on lanes less than thirty feet in width, you will find that all these things indicate that those who drew up the by-law have done a great deal to improve the tenement house condition of the City.

But you will find defects which are serious, and one is a provision by which an inner room may be created if it is lighted by an outer one. This is a beginning of what they call in Chicago or New York the double decker system of tenement houses, or in England the back to back system of houses. That, in England, has been absolutely prohibited in recent years, and must be prohibited here, before it begins. It has already begun in Montreal, and the authorities have not dealt with it as yet.

There is the other point,—the necessity for having something added to the building by-law making it absolutely clear, that on a particular area of ground in a particular size of house, not more than so many persons can sleep. We won't talk about living in the day-time, but "cannot sleep," that is the point, and the only point at which we can regulate in any degree the tenement house problem. All of you see the point; for instance, in a double decker in Chicago, the Committee tells us that one hundred and twenty-seven persons lived in seventy rooms, and in one case six children and three grown-up persons lived in three interior rooms, which received no outside light at all, and this was in a new building. If that is the case there, then, our municipal health by-law or building by-law must be amended, and in addition to that you must follow up legislation with constant inspection, because the landlord, in many cases, will simply go on to the limit, and if any of you wish to find an illustration of how this is done in London, read that novel by Stuart, "The Hebrew," where the conditions of over-crowding are systematically worked up into a business. I need not go further, gentlemen; you all see the point which I wish to make, namely, that, with increasing civic population, increasing wealth, increasing ability to do things, we have to recognize, and ought to recognize, our increasing individual and civic responsibility.

If we are to forget everything except the purely individual and material interests of ourselves, we are not even good political philosophers in leaving out the question of good morals, because everyone sees very well that if our City became like New York or Chicago, in its police force, in a general disregard for law and order, that everyone's property would be affected, to put it on the lowest basis. We would be affected in every way, and we cannot separate ourselves from our neighbours, be they rich or poor. I venture to say, in conclusion, gentlemen, that Toronto won't forget herself. I have known Toronto long enough to feel quite sure that as she has led in the past she will lead in this, and will take very good care indeed, when she once sees the danger, to step in in time to prevent its realization. You will all remember those old words of Tennyson's, in his little poem on "Freedom," where he speaks about knowledge. I shall leave them with you:

> "Knowledge fusing class with class,
> Of civic strife no more to be,
> Of love which leavens all the mass,
> Until the soul be free."

Mr. J. F. Ellis: It has afforded me great pleasure to hear the address just given. While Dr. Bryce's remarks do not touch upon the question, I had hoped he would have said something in connection with the immigration of undesirable people into this country. All of you know that not long ago a very strong memorial was sent to Ottawa from the Boards of Trade, protesting against the number of undesirable immigrants constantly coming into Canada. It appears to us that the quarantine service is not as efficient as it should be and not carried out properly by the Dominion. It caused very much surprise to hear reports from the Sanitariums of the enormous proportion of those who are there that are affected with tuberculosis, but who have not been in this country a year; and through inquiry it was learned that a great many people were sent over here by the authorities at home, knowing that they were suffering from tuberculosis and advising that they come to Canada. It is a serious menace to the health of the country, and it is an added expense to these institutions. Professor Bryce is there in close touch with the authorities at Ottawa, and I think he could do Canada a great deal of service if he impressed upon them the importance of improved quarantine service, so that all undesirable immigrants should be immediately deported as soon as they landed in this country.

Dr. E. Clouse: I wish to say a word in support of Mr. Ellis' remarks. Few practising physicians in this country but know that his remarks are true even to the question of people being taken out of Sanitaria in the Old Country and sent here in the hope that the bracing air of Canada might improve their health. This is a matter which must soon claim the attention of the authorities here.

Dr. W. H. Pepler: I have listened with interest to Dr. Bryce's remarks, and within the past year I have had a good deal of opportunity in seeing the immigrants that have been brought in recently, more especially from England, through my connection with the St. George's Society, and I must say that there have been a number of cases of tuberculosis, chronic ulcerated legs, chronic conditions of the liver, that practically have died here. Two or three cases have died in Toronto within a very short time after having arrived, and it struck me that certainly something could be done in the way of further and stricter inquiry into those immigrants that arrive in this country or before they get on the boat. I have asked quite a number of them what examination they go through. Of course, they are not educated men or women, but I gather that they are asked one or two questions, and two men have told me that their eyes were examined. I hope to see some improvement in the next year's immigration in this way.

Dr. Bryce: I am glad that my friends have given me an opportunity of laying before this Association exactly the situation as we know it to be. I have told you that there were 52,000 people came into Ontario last year, and, of course, Toronto is the great distributing point. I think, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Taylor reported that the total number of cases in 1906 which applied to the City Hall Office for relief was 1,026. That includes everybody, as I understand it, who came from any part of the population in Toronto, so that, so far as the actual relief goes, whether it was done by others or not, those are the figures. It is quite clear that on the relief side the matter has mended. In the particular matter referred to by Mr. Ellis and the other members, I have this to say, that the whole inspection at the ports is under my own personal direction and supervision, and for that I am prepared always to stand or fall and be responsible.

When I went to Ottawa, three years ago, the old Act of '73 was in force, and the work of inspection was just beginning. It has all been organized since then; it has all had to be worked out, and there has had to be a nice balancing of what we ought to do to prevent undesirable people coming in, so as not, at the same time, to discourage the coming of legitimate immigrants. Now, I will tell you what happens. The English come out, say, a thousand on a boat. As you know, they have practically no diseases of the eye and we do not examine them unless it is perfectly evident that one of the eyes is diseased. Ordinarily we look at the under side of the eyelids of all the foreigners, but an Englishman comes up to the inspector who observes him at a distance of a few feet in a good light. He has to judge, in that approach, what kind of a fellow he is. If he is an Englishman, he is generally of ruddy complexion, from staying out of doors, and even a sick man, if he approaches you after ten days at sea, is a pretty hard class of consumptive to diagnose, especially if he does not cough in your face, which he is not likely to do. I am free to say this, that I do not think it is a practical measure to deal with sometimes 4,000 people in a day and examine their chests for tuberculosis. That could not be done. There would be such a general outcry and confusion as to make it an impossibility. If the officers, and they are shrewdly trained, see a man with any indication, either from emaciation or any other cause, of being ill he is set aside in a room until the line is passed and is then carefully looked over. With regard to tuberculosis, this is the situation, and I wish you to remember it as an explanation of what Mr. Ellis says is the case.

A number of immigrants, last year, went to the Free Sanitarium on the Humber. I saw an item to that effect on New Year's Day, and I took the trouble to go out and get a list of them, and I have asked the authorities to give me, in detail, a statement as to how many months or how many years the two or three dozen which are on that list have actually been in Canada. The average time which specialists and physicians, treating consumption, give as the time during which a case exists in this country, before it is diagnosed, is eight months. People get a little run down or have a cold, but on an average they are not diagnosed for eight months after the disease has been in existence. Consumption runs on an average for probably two and a half to three years before the case dies. So that, you see, anything more than an individual personal examination at the port will fail in a certain number of cases of initial consumption, and I am quite prepared to take the responsibility for not attempting to diagnose every body. Last year, after working a year under the 1873 Act, personally and with the Justice Department, I succeeded in having enough attention given to it to have it brought in as an Amendment to the Immigration Act. In that we have this clause: That no person liable to become a public charge can enter Canada, except he give bonds satisfactory to the Minister that he will not become a public charge. No person who has had insanity within five years can enter Canada. No epileptic can enter Canada. That is absolute. No feeble-minded person or idiot can enter Canada.

We may let in cripples, say a man who has lost an arm, on condition that he give satisfactory evidence that he has an occupation or an art, and is not likely to become a public charge. But in any case where a person becomes insane after coming into the country, or becomes epileptic, or develops tuberculosis, he may be returned, within two years. That is the situation. I do not think you can by any possibility exclude all, but we have in the Act absolute provision that if the City Clerk of Toronto or the Doctor at the Hospital for Consumptives brings to our attention a single person who has been admitted, who should not have got in and has become a charge to the public, either as a criminal, a lunatic, an epileptic, or a charitable case, within two years from the time he arrived, he can and will be deported.

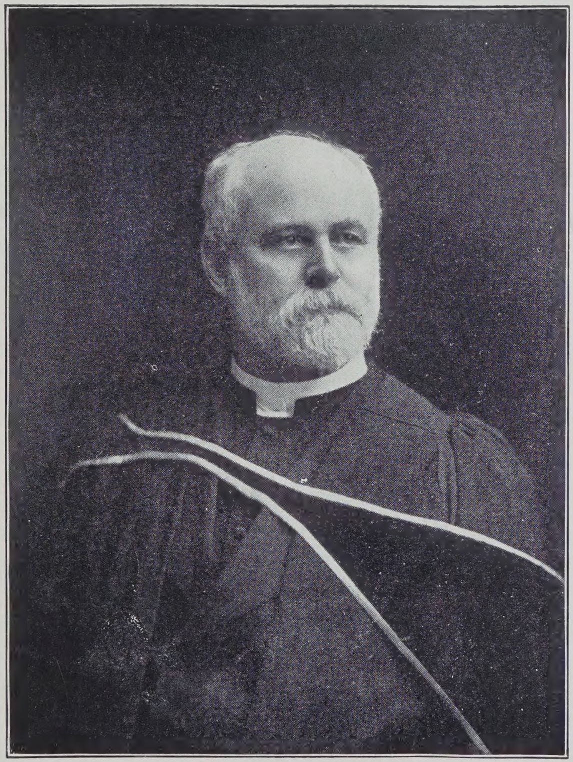
AN IMPERIAL INTELLIGENCE UNION.

Address by the Very Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon, Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 7th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

The subject of my remarks has been provided for me, as I am asked to speak upon "An Imperial Intelligence Union"; and I may add that the substance of my remarks, and my information upon the subject, has been largely provided for me in a Sessional paper, presented last year to Parliament at Ottawa, entitled, "The Establishment of an Imperial Intelligence Service, and a System of Empire Cables." This paper is one of a number of documents recently published, all bearing upon the same purpose of making the different portions of the British Empire more fully acquainted with one another. The special means here advocated for the diffusion of this knowledge is a system of telegraph cables girdling the globe, linking the various parts of the Empire, touching only on British territory, controlled by the state, and affording facilities for extending information throughout the various portions of the Empire.

We have become familiar of late years with the idea of Imperial Federation, although no practical plan for working out that idea has yet been evolved. The vision of a more closely united British Empire that floated before the minds of some far-seeing statesmen of the past has become the hope and expectation of an increasing number, and the growing sentiment in its favour seems to assure us that in some way the vision will be realized. I take it that those of us who call ourselves Imperialists do not consider that Imperialism stands for greed of possession or for growth of dominion. We do not regard it as in any sense akin to militarism. It is the closer union of British communities throughout the



THE VERY REV. DR. D. M. GORDON.
Principal of Queen's University, Kingston.

world, based upon freedom and justice, seeking to develop their capacities in wise self-government and in mutually helpful intercourse, as a great brotherhood cherishing the same national ideals and promoting the peace and progress of the world. Our vision for the Empire is not a dream of expansion through the absorption of feebler races, but rather a vision of closer union, of fuller development, of the wiser, purer, juster government of all the communities that float the British flag, so that these by their united influence may, in friendship with other nations, help to lift up the races that are strangers to progress and to extend the sway of truth and righteousness for the welfare of mankind.

But these great British communities, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and in a measure others also, are self-governing. This implies that in them, as in the mother country, all great questions of constitution and government must be considered not merely by the political leaders, but by the great mass of the people, and that any great movement must approve itself to the general intelligence before it can be wrought into permanent form. Now, in order that this may be accomplished, it is necessary that these great communities should know each other, that their present mutual ignorance should give place to mutual acquaintance, for only on that basis can mutual confidence and a closer and abiding union be secured. On the very threshold of any discussion about the closer union of the self-governing states of the Empire we meet the fact that the peoples of these states know very little about each other, and that they must become intimate with each other's political and commercial conditions, must see how far they are sharing the same national life and ideals, if they are to move forward with one united purpose to a common destiny.

Ignorant as the average Canadian is of England, still more ignorant is the average Englishman regarding Canada. Probably we could all give illustrations of this from our own experience, when we have had to correct our own mistaken ideas and, if possible, the more widely mistaken ideas of our friends in England. This mutual ignorance is still greater between the outside portions of the Empire, because these keep up more intercourse with the mother country than with each other. Unless we have correspondents or business interests in Australia we have probably forgotten the Australian geography that we learned at school, so that if our brother Britons beneath the Southern Cross are as ignorant of us as we are of them they have much to learn.

The recent Boer war taught us something of South Africa, but that is a very expensive method of instruction. As for the Crown Colonies, we may occasionally get some knowledge of them by accident as we have lately had our attention turned to Jamaica through the Kingston earthquake and the Swettenham controversy; but probably none of us would undertake even to enumerate and to locate all the British crown colonies, not to speak of discussing the life and habits of their people. India stands by itself in its relation to the Empire, but I fear that for most of us it is like the Central Africa of our school days, to be labelled "Unexplored Territory." If, therefore, we are to think of any closer relations with our fellow-Britons throughout the world, we and they must become more intimately acquainted.

It is not enough for this purpose to rely on the present methods of conveying information. Letter postage has, thanks to the efforts of Sir William Mulock and others, been so far reduced that we can very easily correspond with our friends at the Antipodes, but not many Canadians have correspondents across the seas from whose letters they can gather anything about the movements that affect a people's life. Newspaper postage, although low enough from Canada to England, has hitherto been so high from England to Canada as to prevent any wide circulation among us of British periodicals, and even to affect seriously our knowledge of British markets and manufactures. Our Canadian papers give us little more than fragments of news from England, and what little they do give is for the most part furnished us through foreign channels, and prepared at first for a foreign market. As for Australia or South African newspapers, we know practically nothing of them. Clearly then, we require a greatly increased supply of information throughout the Empire, regarding all that vitally concerns the separate British communities, and especially regarding all that is of general and Imperial interest. How is this need to be met? The proposal submitted in the Sessional paper, to which I have referred, is that there should be a system of state-owned telegraph cables that would connect the main portions of the Empire with each other and with the mother country, and that there should be some organization that would gather up and, by means of this cable system, transmit throughout the Empire reports of the daily life and important interests of all the communities thus connected, reports of such character and value, yet provided at so low a cost, that it would be well worth while for all the newspapers to give them to their readers.

We have thus the two considerations brought before us,—the system of Empire cables and what I may call the bureau of information.

As to the system of cables;—starting from England and going westward it might be divided into four sections, which, taken together, would encircle the globe, and would land only on British territory. The first from London to Vancouver, embracing a cable across the Atlantic and land lines across Canada; the second, a cable across the Pacific from Canada to New Zealand and Australia, with land lines across Australia to the Indian Ocean; the third, a cable from Australia across the Indian Ocean to South Africa, with a branch line from Cocos Island to India; the fourth, a cable from South Africa by way of Ascension Island to the West Indies, and thence to England, with a branch line from the West Indies to Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. This is the " All-Red Line," proposed by Sir Sandford Fleming, who has done more than any other to urge upon the governments and peoples of the British self-governing communities the importance and practicability of such a cable system. It would be essential in this system, you observe, that it should be state-owned and controlled by a Board on which all the Governments interested would be fairly represented.

Let us look at these four sections. The first division, from England to Vancouver, is already supplied with cable accommodation, but for the scheme proposed it would be necessary either to procure one of the existing Atlantic cables or to lay another, and also to nationalize the line across Canada. This work of nationalizing a telegraph system is approved by the success that has attended the nationalization of the telegraph system of the British Isles, where it has been made part of the postal service and the rates have been greatly reduced. Similar results might reasonably be expected from Government control of the line from England to the Pacific. The second section, from Canada to New Zealand and Australia, has been already provided. It became an accomplished fact, in 1902, by the united action of the Home Government and of the Governments of Canada, New Zealand, and the Provinces that form the Australian Commonwealth. It is at present controlled by the Pacific Cable Board, with headquarters in London, the Board consisting of representatives of the several Governments that contributed to lay the Cable. There remain the other two sections yet to be provided, the one from Australia to South Africa, with a branch line to India; the other from South Africa by way of the West Indies to England with a branch line to Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. If these were completed there would be a system of cables providing electric communication between the self-governing British states. The estimated cost would be moderate for an enterprise so rich in possibilities, as it is reckoned on expert authority that the remaining parts of the proposed system could be provided for £5,000,000 stg., or, say, $25,000,000.

If such a system were completed it might serve largely to increase the inter-British commerce throughout the world, and, being state-owned, its object would be not to earn large dividends so much as to serve the general interests of the countries connected by it. I am speaking to gentlemen who are familiar with commercial questions. I think I need hardly enlarge upon the fact that the provision of cheap telegraphic communication would tend greatly to increase intercourse and commerce. Already the telegraphic communication between Canada and Australia, which formerly went by way of England eastward, has, by means of the Pacific Cable, been reduced from nine shillings to three shillings a word, and it is claimed by Sir Sandford Fleming that if the system were completed the cost of communication between any two of the countries thus connected might reasonably be fixed at a uniform rate of six pence per word.

But, while increasing commercial services would be rendered by cheap telegraphic communication, such a system of state-owned cables could be used with the greatest benefit for the transmission of general intelligence of such a character as might be best worth distributing throughout the countries thus connected. There would be several hours out of every twenty-four when the cables would be unused, as is the case at present through the greater portion of the day with the Pacific Cable, and yet members of the staff must be always on hand for any messages that may be offered. At such times there might, with little or no additional cost, be transmitted fairly extensive Press messages that could be furnished to the newspapers of the different countries as general news of the Empire. These regular budgets might thus become part of the daily reading of the great mass of the people throughout the British world, familiarizing all with the life and opinions, the interests and experiences, the commercial, social, and political movements of these several connected communities.

In view of such possible use of the completed system, we naturally ask if it would not be possible to utilize in this way the part of the system already completed between Canada and Australia. Might not Press messages be exchanged at very low rates between these two countries with the present facilities, and might not the cable, which has in fair and proportionate part been paid for by these two countries, be used for bringing us more closely into touch with our Australian brother Britons? Judging from the Sessional paper, which is the main source of my information, it seems that the Eastern Extension Cable Company, which has from the first been bitterly opposed to the Pacific Cable, has influence enough in England and in Australia to impair the usefulness of that cable, and to hinder the progress of the system here proposed. The object of this Company is to secure the highest dividends through privileges granted them long before the Pacific Cable was laid. They are unwilling to make way for a system of state-owned cables because such a system would mean cheap communication and reduced dividends, the good of the Empire, no doubt, but not the preservation of their own monopoly. Opposition of this kind can yield only to the larger interests of Imperial breadth and bearing, but the Home Government and the Australian Government, which were originally concerned in granting the monopoly, seem to be still influenced by the Eastern Extension Co., and to lag behind the Governments of Canada and New Zealand. This is one of the subjects that might fitly attract the attention of the approaching Colonial Conference.

Supposing, however, that the projected system of Empire cables were completed, and that the rates were placed at the lowest possible figures, with the prospect of increasing commerce between these countries, there remains the question how best to gather up the news that should be distributed by means of the cables throughout these various communities. Two methods have been suggested. It might be done by a Bureau of Information, consisting of persons appointed by the Government in each country for this purpose. Or it might be done under an organization similar to that of the Associated Press. Possibly there might be some combination of these two methods, but it would not seem to be a very difficult problem for the Board that would have control of the cable system to devise some plan by which suitable correspondents might be secured in each of the countries concerned. If the Cable facilities were once provided under state ownership and control, it should be possible to select material for Press reports in such a way as to promote throughout the various British states an intelligent acquaintance that would soon ripen into intimacy.

With such mutual acquaintance these British communities, aiming at the solution of similar problems and the attainment of similar national ideals, would be knit in closer mutual confidence, and in more vital relations as parts of one organic whole. It is interesting to notice that this proposed system of Empire cables, and of an Imperial Intelligence service, has received the emphatic endorsation of many of the Chambers of Commerce throughout the Empire; notably of the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, which met in Montreal in 1903. This endorsation is all the more significant when it is remembered that the movement for nationalizing the telegraph system of the British Isles was commenced and completed by the Chamber of Commerce of the United Kingdom. The proposal has been very cordially approved by a large number of representative Canadians, whose views have been presented in the Sessional paper already referred to. Scarcely any subject of public interest, indeed, could be mentioned, that would call forth such unanimity of sentiment as that which has been expressed in connection with this proposal.

It should be noted, Mr. Chairman, that this Empire Cable scheme is in no wise a party question. No political party holds a monopoly of loyalty to the Empire, and this project is one on which men of all political parties may unite. The natural outcome of it would be to aid in making each of the self-governing British states more familiar with what is best in all the others, in acquainting them with each other's commercial, political and social conditions, in leading them to promote the same ideals of liberty, righteousness and progress. Looking at the mother-land and at these growing communities of Greater Britain, each " daughter in her mother's house, and mistress in her own," there seems to be no movement within practicable reach that would more surely tend to bind these in the same national life than some such scheme as an Imperial Intelligence Union.

IMPERIAL POSTAGE.

Address by Mr. John A. Cooper, B.A., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 14th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I fear that I am very much in a position to-day of the stale politician who has talked the same old political argument for 10, 15, 20, or 25 years, and has got to the point in his career when he cannot think of a new way of putting the old ideas. I have been looking over my papers since you were good enough to ask me to come and speak to you on this subject, and I find that I have been writing and agitating on this subject for 10 years. I did not know it was quite so long until I got at the records, and, as I say, I have written so much about it, and talked so much about it, that I fear I have lost the power to put it in new form.

The subject was first called definitely to my attention by a newspaper man, who, I believe, had previously been working on a reform in the way of getting cheaper money orders between Great Britain and Canada. After he had got through the agitation on that subject, it struck him that he should take up an agitation in favour of cheaper postage on periodicals and newspapers. I happened to be Secretary of the Canadian Press Association at the time, and he wrote me several long letters on the subject, and finally got me interested. I took up the matter with Mr. E. B. Biggar, of the *Canadian Engineer,* and we studied it out together, and we found that some people in the Post Office had been studying it about the same time. Then the agitation began through the Canadian Press Association, as well as through the official avenues. At the time Mr. Biggar and I prepared the first paper on the subject, following along the lines laid down by G. H. Hale, of the Orillia *Packet,* who is the gentleman first referred to, we coined this phrase "Trade follows the advertisement, not the flag." Having coined the phrase we, of course, proceeded to do our best to prove that it was true, and I have thought it over for a great many years, and I am still convinced that if it does not express the exact truth it comes very near to expressing it.

If you will examine the trade returns showing our relations with Great Britain and our relations with the United States since 1867, you will find that British sales in this country have declined proportionately; while they have increased slightly in bulk, they are still proportionately less to-day to our total purchases than in 1867. On the other hand, the purchases of United States goods by Canada are very much greater to-day than they ever were before, and they have steadily increased since 1867. This proves in a general way this statement, that trade follows the advertisement rather than the flag. I do not need to prove this further to you. You are all quite aware that there are more United States advertisements coming into this country than there are English advertisements. I have used one incident several times, but I would like to tell it again. I went up into a small town in Western Ontario one day, and, being short of tooth powder, I went out to buy some. My favourite is an English preparation, and I asked the druggist for some Calvert's tooth powder. "Never heard of Calvert." I might say that I was very much chagrined at this, because he advertised in the *Canadian Magazine,* with which I was connected! "Well, what have you in the way of tooth powders?" He produced four preparations, all made in the United States, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the duty on tooth powders from Great Britain was less than the duty on tooth powder from the United States. I said to him, "Why do you handle these? What are the merits of the case? Why are these better than the English tooth powders?" He said, "I don't know anything about the merits of it. We handle these because they are advertised, and the people ask for them." And so you might go on.

I remember when the British journalists were in

Canada, I was riding down from the Exhibition with two or three of them. One of them was a noted Radical, who was representing Reynold's newspaper, and who also edited a paper in London called *The New Voice*. In the carriage was Mr. Neil Munro, the novelist, of the Glasgow *Evening News*. The Radical got talking about the foolishness of Canada resorting to protection and trying to make her own industries go and make the people pay an excessive price for their goods. I said, "Well, why do you object?" They said, "You should buy British goods." I replied, "Well, as far as I am concerned, you may take off all the tariff on British goods, and you may allow them to come in free, and I do not think you would increase your annual sales 10 per cent."

They asked me why, and I said, "Because your advertisements do not reach the Canadian people. The brands of goods sold by your manufacturers are not known to the Canadian public." And this gentleman, this Radical, said to me, "Well, but you get *Pearson's* and you get *The Strand*, don't you?" I said, "Yes, we do; we get them." "Well, you get our advertisements there?" I said, "No, sir." "Oh, what do you mean?" I said, "The American is too sharp for you (excuse me, sir, United Stateser). He takes your *Strand* and your *Pearson's*, cuts out your English advertising, and inserts American advertising." I said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. We are going down town, and we should have a bottle of wine to celebrate the occasion, and I'll buy the bottle of wine if you will get off and go through three of the leading book-stores in town, and buy one copy of the English edition of *The Strand* or *Pearson's* or one copy containing a regular set of English advertisement." Needless to say, I did not buy the wine.

When I was in England a couple of years ago, I had the pleasure of discussing this matter with C. Arthur Pearson, publisher of Pearson's Magazine, and I said to him, "I understand you are a great disciple of Mr. Chamberlain." Of course, I was away from home, and he did not know what an insignificant individual I was.

So I braved it out and proceeded to talk as an important person. He said, "Yes, I am a great believer in Mr. Chamberlain's policy." "Then," I said, "why have you sold Canada to the United States?" He looked at me, and, I suppose, wondered whether it was an insane individual from the Colonies who had wandered into Henrietta Street. I said, "You have sold us to the United States; you will not allow us to buy the English edition of Pearson's; you compel us to buy the United States' edition; to buy an edition in which all the chief British articles are eliminated, and in which there are substitute articles particularly interesting to the people of the United States." Mr. Pearson said he would try to rectify it, but he has not done so yet.

There was a time in this country when we did get British periodicals, but that was before the United States' periodicals had come to so great perfection. Because we all must admit, that the United States periodicals are very bright publications, well edited, well produced, well managed and well circulated. There was a time when British periodicals came in here, but when the United States' people found out the great advantage they had in this market, they pursued it pitilessly. They found that their Post Office was charging one cent a pound to send matter into Canada, for which the British Government charged eight cents. They said, "Now, here's a good chance. Here are the Canadian people buying *The Strand* from England. We will get out an American edition of *The Strand*, and we can send it into Canada at seven cents a pound less than the British publisher can send it in." So they got out their American edition and at once corraled the market. That is the great point in the whole question—the United States' periodicals can be sent into this market at one cent a pound, whereas British periodicals can only be sent in at a rate of eight cents a pound, and it is on that problem that we have been carrying on this agitation for about ten years.

It may interest you to note some of the steps that we have taken. I cannot cover them all, but I would like to mention one or two. I find that on the 18th of June, 1901, Mr. Charles Trevelyan, M.P., asked the following question in the British House of Commons: "I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster-General, whether his attention has been drawn to complaints from Canada that British magazines and periodicals mailed to Canada are taxed at the rate of eight cents a pound, while United States periodicals can enter at one cent a pound; and whether, as this rate is driving out British publications by American competition, the Postmaster-General can see his way to reduce the rates now charged?" I need not read you the answer. It was simply to say that they did not see any reason why they should reduce the rate. I would like, however, to read the comment of the Editor of the *British Empire Review,* at that time: "The foregoing is a typical example of official evasion." I find in the same issue of June, 1901, of the *British Empire Review,* a question from an article from the *Canadian Magazine* on the subject. We carried on a newspaper agitation in Great Britain for some time. Most of the material which was collected here was sent to Sir Gilbert Parker, and he had it scattered about among the newspapers, and quotations from Canadian newspapers were disseminated in that way. In the summer of 1904 I prepared a petition. It is a very short one:

> To the Right Hon. the Postmaster-General of Great Britain. We, the undersigned, would respectfully draw your attention to the unsatisfactory circulation of British weeklies and monthlies in the outlying portions of the Empire, and would urge that the postal rates for this class of matter be reduced from fourpence to one penny per pound, and when sent from the office of publications or from news agencies. The needs of the British Empire demand that the literature of the people shall be British, and cheaper postal rates seem positively necessary to this end. Interchange of opinion is necessary to political unity, and interchange of advertising is one of the great means of promoting inter-imperial trade. We, your petitioners, would humbly urge upon you the importance of this postal reform, in order that Canadians may receive periodical literature at a rate as advantageous as that from foreign countries."

I would like to point out that this petition was signed by the President of the Canadian Press Association; the President of the British Empire League; by the Bishop of Toronto; by Mr. Willison, Editor of the *News;* Mr. Howell, President of the Canadian Club; Mr. Urquhart, then Mayor of Toronto; Mr. Creelman, President of the Canadian Agricultural College; Mr. McKay, Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia; the Dean of Acadia University, Wolfville; Dr. John Forest, President of Dalhousie University, Halifax; Rev. Father Gaynor, President of the New Brunswick Historical Society; His Grace the late Archbishop O'Brien, Archbishop of Halifax; Mr. Longley, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia; Professor John Watson, of Queen's; Senator Templeman; Mr. F. Barlow Cumberland; President Loudon; Hon. G. W. Ross; Mr. John F. Ellis, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. J. M. Clark, President of the Toronto Branch of the British Empire League; and a number of others. On Thursday, March 16, 1905, a deputation waited upon the Postmaster-General of Great Britain, and I have in my hands the official report of that interview. I would like to mention the names of some of those who went to see the Postmaster-General of Great Britain in order to show you the class of people that have taken an interest in this subject in Great Britain:

Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P.; Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P.; Right Hon. Sir W. Hart-Dyke, M.P.; Right Hon. Sir Herbert-Maxwell, M.P.; Lord Morpeth, M.P.; Lieut.-Gen. Laurie, M.P.; Sir H. Seton-Karr, M.P.; Sir Thomas Wrightson, M.P.; Sir William Holland, M.P.; Right Hon. H. Chaplin, M.P.; Right Hon. Jesse Collings, M.P.; Mr. C. D. Rose, M.P.; Mr. Alfred Emmott, M.P.; Mr. Charles Trevelyan, M.P.; Mr. S. Buxton, M.P.; Mr. W. H. Grenfell, M.P.; Sir H. Kimber, M.P.; Mr. Evelyn Cecil, M.P.; Sir Carne Rasch, M.P.; Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P.; Mr. E. Goulding, M.P.

This history will give you some idea of the length of time for which the agitation has been going on. I would like to refer to the work of Sir William Mulock. I think that Canada and the Empire owe to him a supreme debt of gratitude for the good work that he has done along this line. He took up the subject very strongly before the Canadian Press Association took it up. He worked at it assiduously and persistently, and he used whatever influence he had in that direction. Of course he was interested both in letter postage and in newspaper postage. In letter postage you all know how he succeeded. So far as magazine and newspaper postage was concerned, he was not successful in getting a reduction made in the British rate; but he did succeed in forcing the hand of the British Government so as to allow him to send Canadian newspapers and Canadian periodicals to Great Britain at the domestic rate; namely, half a cent per pound, or one-sixteenth of that charged for the return trip. That is a great accomplishment, and one which the Canadian people should keep in mind and ever hold to the credit of Sir Wm. Mulock, and, I have no doubt, to the credit of prominent officials who were associated with him in that transaction.

Now, then, we come to recent developments. The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who is now Postmaster-General, has announced that a further reform is about to occur, that postage on British newspapers and periodicals to Canada will be lowered. I am not certain in what way that will come about, nor to what extent it will come about, but I believe that he hopes, as he has expressed it, that the result of whatever changes shall be made, will be an intellectual preference for British periodicals. The "intellectual preference" is his own phrase. But there is need yet for a great deal of agitation along this line. Canada, if she wishes to remain a part of the British Empire, must know a little more about British public affairs. To-day, British periodicals and newspapers are practically confined to the newspaper offices, and to two or three of the larger libraries. The public are not reading British literature. They know very little about the British people, British politics, British questions, and about Imperial questions, and I think there is no greater work that the Empire Club could do than to take up this subject, and see if they could do something to help along a movement whereby British periodicals and British newspapers would move more freely in the homes of our people.

Of course, side by side with this agitation, we have a movement for restricting the immense inflow, shall I say, of United States periodicals into this country. In 1875, Canada made a Postal Convention with the United States, in which we agreed that all postal matter should be exchanged at the border at domestic rates; that there should be no international accounting between the two nations. In other words, we agreed that we would deliver all United States mail matter sent to this country at the domestic rate free of charge to the United States. They agreed, on their part, to deliver all matter sent from Canada to the United States in the same way. Of course, at that time, we had no Canadian Pacific Railway. We had no railway connection with Winnipeg or with British Columbia. Our letters to Manitoba were sent via Chicago, and our letters to British Columbia via San Francisco. At that time it was a good bargain for us. But when we got our own postal connections, we forgot to cancel the agreement we had made with the United States. The consequence is that, for thirty-two years, we have been carrying United States' matter at a very low rate, and we have been carrying probably fifty pounds of mail matter for every pound the United States has carried for us, and I would assume that that would cost this country a very tidy sum annually.

Just whether it would be best for us to cut that arrangement off entirely and come under the International Postal Union, the same as the other countries of the world, I would not like to say, but there is no doubt that the people of this country will support any reasonable reform which the Postmaster-General undertakes to make. It is unreasonable that we should have this country performing a huge and costly task for the United States Post Office. It is only right, if they have thousands and thousands of tons of mail matter delivered in this country, that they should, at least, pay some fair amount for that delivery. We are, of course, interested in it in another way. Canadian newspapers and periodicals want an opportunity to grow. We want to see better periodicals in Canada. We want to see more national periodicals. At the present moment it is practically impossible for a Canadian periodical to exist. One or two have succeeded, but they have succeeded only by adopting methods which no self-respecting journal should be asked to adopt. I say that advisedly, because I think that I know as much about it as any man in the country and I say that with a full knowledge of what it means. There is no prospect of any Canadian periodical succeeding in this country in the present situation, without adopting means to which no self-respecting journalist should be compelled to stoop.

In the first place, paper in Canada is higher than in the United States, and the duty on paper coming into this country averages about 30 per cent.—25 per cent. on book papers; 35 per cent. on coated papers. We will say that the duty is 30 per cent. The Canadian paper manufacturer has not a great demand for book papers, and he finds it necessary to keep his price pretty well up to the United States' price plus 30 per cent. "That is very well," you say, "your paper is a little higher, but is there no duty on magazines and newspapers?" Now, the actual situation is frankly this: you can bring in a sheet of paper without any printing on it and they charge you 25 to 35 per cent. duty. Mr. Munsey or Mr. McClure takes the same sheet of paper, he prints his advertisements on it, he prints on it literature written by people of the United States, he prints engravings made by the engravers of the United States, he prints it on presses made in the United States, he binds it up into the form of a magazine and he sends it in free of duty. That is one of the chief reasons why you cannot have Canadian periodicals under present conditions. The Government says when you ask them, "Well, we cannot put a duty on knowledge." And that is quite true, they cannot put a duty on knowledge. Of course, they put a duty on books—cloth bound books ten per cent., and books that are not bound in cloth 20 per cent. But then these little anomalies do not trouble Governments very much.

At the same time there is a great deal to be said in favour of the Government's contention that it is a very difficult matter to tax knowledge. Again, the Minister of Customs will tell you, " I don't want to put a duty on periodicals because I can only collect the duty on those that come in by freight and express. If John Smith subscribes for a United States' magazine and has it sent in by mail, I cannot collect on it, but I can when it is sent in by freight or express." That argument is practically unanswerable, so that I hope none of you will try to start any Canadian periodicals, because I don't want any competition just now. Then, again, the Postmaster-General says (I don't say that the present Postmaster-General will say it, but we will assume that he says) : " We don't want to put a duty on what comes in by freight and express, for then they would send everything by post, and we don't want that." It is a great problem and it is one that must be solved. I am not here to ask for any personal sympathy at all. It is a problem which faces Canada. I can look after myself; if you people think the country can stand it, I can stand it. As long as Canada prefers United States' literature to Canadian and British literature, she should have it. I am too much interested in the situation myself to express any decided opinion upon it.

I have tried to go quickly over this broad subject, and give you an idea of the difficulties. If there is any question you would like to ask me, I would be glad to answer it. If there are no questions, I would like to say that I hope you will forget all that I have said about United States' periodicals and postage, and Canadian periodicals, but that you will remember that there needs to be an awakening in this country of sentiment in the mind of our youth, in the mind of the young man, that he should know Great Britain, that he should try to come in touch through British newspapers and periodicals with the great problems which he, as an Imperial Citizen, must at some time or other consider.

Mr. E. M. Chadwick: I think that our press in Canada is not wholly free from blame with regard to some of the points that have been touched upon. A great deal of the cable and telegraphic news is written on this side, and never crosses the Atlantic. It is published by our papers as freely as if it were absolutely genuine. Our papers fail to give us English or British news at first hand. They do sometimes publish communications from correspondents, but when they do, it is generally in the most unattractive form, and I suppose nobody reads it. The whole press in this country seems to be permeated with American ideas to a very large extent; much more than some of us can feel like tolerating. As an example; there is one English magazine published in this town which is one-third thoroughly American, and yet it is supposed to be sold in order to counteract some of the evils that Mr. Cooper has touched upon. For many years I used to get *The Strand,* in fact, I had it complete for many years from its first publication. I found, however that it was coming here loaded up with American stuff—American stories, description of American towns, etc., and I thought I did not want this. I want the English edition; so, instead of getting it in the usual way, I wrote to London, and, much to my disgust, they sent me out the American edition.

Mr. J. R. Roaf: I think that every man can do something toward bringing about this reform. I think every man here has correspondents on the other side of the Atlantic. I wrote to a friend in England who was interested in this subject, and he answered that he had handed my letter to seven different newspapers, stating that a correspondent had given him this information; and they had published it. You can also send letters to your friends and have them published in England. The necessity of cheaper postage in sending their matter out here is apparent. You business men can point out to the business men there that they can sell their goods here if their advertisements appeared in this country.

Mr. J. F. Ellis: I have listened with pleasure to the address of Mr. Cooper. I had the honour last summer at the Chambers of Commerce Congress to introduce a notice of motion along that line, and we had a very courteous reply from the Postmaster-General, and the question he put to us is a difficult one to be answered. You know in the Old Country they do not have a tariff on imports. They expect to receive their revenue from certain domestic matters. One of their principal sources of revenue is from the Post Office, and he told us distinctly that to adopt our suggestions would mean a decrease in the revenue of the British Post Office of four million pounds. Now gentlemen, that is four times the revenue which Canada received from her Post Office. These are the difficulties she has. We think it is strange they cannot adopt our suggestion, but they are up against the fact that it would make an enormous reduction in their revenue.

Mr. Cooper: I can deal with that question in a moment. I met with the same answer when I was over there two years ago. I nailed it quickly. In Great Britain they tell you they charge eight cents a pound for delivering periodicals and magazines. I said, "You don't do anything of the kind; you have that rate hung up and there is not a single publisher in Great Britain who uses it. You have, by putting up that rule, made millionaires and peers, because W. H. Smith, who became a peer, earned his money handling newspapers and magazines throughout Great Britain that the British Post Office would not carry. Now," I said, "the rate does not affect your people. They send their stuff by express. Nobody could afford to pay eight cents a pound to carry stuff from London to Liverpool; he sends it by express." There people are all together and can be reached by the book-seller. In this country you can reach them only through the Post Office, because the population is scattered. I said to them: "You do not need to change the domestic rate; change the colonial rate, and you would not lose one hundred thousand pounds a year."

CRIMINOLOGY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Address by Mr. W. P. Archibald, Dominion Parole Officer, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 21st, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

In all civilized nations the character and aspect of crime appears to change with the ever-varying conditions of their social and political life, and a study of the problems and tendencies of crime has become a necessity for the well-being of every community. From the days primeval all social progress has taken its root in the sense of failure to realize ideals, which mark each epoch of the world's history. As a result we now have as many distinct ideals as we have groups of men. There is the economic ideal of a prison, to make it self-supporting; the administrative ideal is that it shall be secure and orderly; the punitive ideal is that it shall crush its helpless inmates and strike terror into the hearts of men tempted to enter upon a criminal career; the sentimental ideal is that it shall be the abode of comfort and content; the philosophic ideal is that it shall be so conducted as to reform as many of those committed to it as are susceptible to reformation and rehabilitation.

Those ideals spring up partly from within and partly from without penal jurisdiction. Prison officials have the opportunity of studying the criminal at first hand. By close and continued contact with him, they note his tastes, his habits and his peculiarities. They study the effect of a wholesome discipline and change their attitude to him according to keener insight and the more accurate judgments gained by a large and sometimes long experience in prison administration. The outside world look at the criminal from a different viewpoint. They form their judgments from the results of crime as found on the ledger of the Police Court, or by the effect of

MR. W. P. ARCHIBALD.
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the crime committed in a community, or by the account as published in the daily newspapers.

In England, in the year 1800, there were two hundred crimes punishable by death. At the present time there are only four, viz., High Treason, Murder, Piracy, with violence, and setting fire to the King's ships, Dock-yards or Military stores. When Queen Victoria came to the throne her convict subjects were in the United Kingdom about 53,000. The convicts in prisons about the end of 1899 were only 3,700, notwithstanding an increase in population of 13,000,000. For centuries the underlying principle of penal law was that of vengeance and repression. Both the State and the Church tried to suppress crime by the terrors of torture and intimidation. Ancient treatment of the criminal was such as to produce untold misery and despair, in the hope that his being filled with the terror and hideousness of his offence, would, upon his release from prison, act as a deterrent to like offences. Even upon his release the pitiless vengeance of society followed him up, marking and branding him a criminal for life. Did it work out as anticipated? Facts show that crimes of violence and against property became even more daring until experience was crystallized into the axiom that "crime thrives on severe penalties," and the prisons in the Old Country became so choked that the Government had to resort to transportation and established penal colonies for the disposal of their human rubbish.

After eighty years of futile experience of this kind, the failure of the transportation system was admitted and it was abandoned. But this experiment was not without its value, for at least it gave the world the object lesson that, in many cases, a desperate criminal could turn over a new leaf in a new environment and become a useful member of society. Now, the principle has been adopted of working with the criminal as well as for him, embracing the industrial, the educational, the religious, and the disciplinary methods, which are proving to be reformative and curative agencies, bringing a large percentage of our criminal strata up to the social strata of usefulness and good citizenship. It is the advent of hope. I know it would be foolish to even estimate the exact percentage of corrigable, or what is termed "incorrigable convicts," or to shut our eyes to the persistency of the criminal type of character, or to expect in the eyes of the law anything more from the average prisoner than that he shall cease to be a law-breaker and become law-abiding; but the concrete fact has been established that opportunity succeeds where mere cruelty in the past has failed in a treatment of our criminal classes. We send the whole man to prison and it is necessary to treat the whole man to produce satisfactory results.

The man, while remaining a criminal, is a constant menace to society, also to the life and property of the individual; he is a tremendous burden upon the resources of the state financially and ethically. He is an abiding heart-ache to anyone with a feeling of pity or an inspiration for the nobility and progress of humanity. The criminal is not an isolated fibre, but a condition of life closely interwoven with all that goes to make our complex social fabric. He is not an isolated, but an associated factor. He is more than a relic from past ages. He is not a mere reversion to a primitive type of humanity, but an actual, if very imperfect, member of our present day society. The criminal is still a man, a something more than a curious anatomical specimen of humanity, that some would have us believe. Whatever he may have done he is part of that corporate life in which we all live and have our being. I do not believe the criminal act to be a strange deed of a remote and non-human order of being, nor the outcome of a satanic prompting, but a part of the conduct of one who is linked in a thousand and one ways with his fellows. The act is anti-social, anarchic, distinctive and destructive, but to understand the actor we must revert to his social conditions and human relations. Likewise, we trace our criminal problems to their true rootage and treat them successfully only when we can understand causes from a broad and scientific viewpoint, seeing in the criminal a social unit not unified, a social factor not socialized, and an ethical possibility not realized. To understand the criminal you must set him in a frame of general history, illuminate him by a knowledge and a philosophy of human nature and a psychology that takes account of all facts and goes far enough beyond nerves and grey matter to reach the real man with a will, a hope and a conscience.

We satisfy human sentiments or public opinion of our age only when everything is done within a possibility for the convict while he is under the custody of the law and, from the penitentiary viewpoint in Canada there can be little honest criticism of the construction or the administration of the institutions, or of the general treatment of the criminals under their care. Trades of various kinds are taught the inmates, the moral welfare of the prisoner is well guarded by the enforcement of a strong and helpful discipline, giving the prisoner a practical lesson in self-control that he never knew before, while the chaplains devote themselves exclusively to the spiritual needs of the inmates, all in operation for their general betterment. Following up the impressions made by our modern systems and penal treatment, I am anxious to create a deeper interest, and a conscience in some localities of our vast Dominion (where it is needed) to see that no discharged prisoner is left standing outside of a Canadian institution on the day of release, without a friend to aid him or the opportunity provided for the delinquent to follow up the good impressions or resolves made while under authority.

I will now give some statistical data upon this subject.

The United Kingdom, estimated population in 1906, 43,655,377; 21,580 persons were under conviction in His Majesty's prisons in the United Kingdom on March 28th, 1906; Paupers, England and Wales, year 1906, 909,918—a decrease of 4,825 over the preceding year; Scotland has 111,202 paupers. In the judicial statistics of England and Wales for the year 1905, I find that Greater London, with a population of over 6,500,000, had only 24 homicides reported, 20 of these were tried in the criminal courts, with the result of 20 convictions. In England and Wales the verdicts for wilful murder numbered 191 cases, as against 189 in 1904. The annual average for the past five years is 171.4. In 42 cases during the past five years (where verdicts of wilful murder were returned), several committed suicide at the time of the murder. In addition to the 191 verdicts of wilful murder for the past year, there were 126 verdicts of manslaughter, making, altogether, a total of 317 culpable homicides.

In England and Wales for some years past crime, as represented by indictable offences, has grown steadily. In 1899 the number of persons charged with such offences was 50,499; in 1904, the number was 59,960; showing an increase, in five years, of 9,461. In the former year the proportion of offences to 100,000 of the population was 158·97, but in the latter the proportion had risen to 177·59. The number imprisoned during the year was 223,911, or 1 prisoner in 145 of the population. It is interesting to note that while crime generally has increased, offences against the person have decreased; falling from 2,785 in 1899, to 2,525 in 1904, a decrease of nearly 9 per cent. The obvious deduction is that passion and brutality are becoming less potent factors in the causation of crime. The great increase has taken place in those kinds of offences that require not only dishonest intention, but also some education and skill in their perpetration. Hence false pretences, frauds, embezzlements, and larcenies make up the increase; the deduction being obvious, that dishonesty, cupidity, and lack of principle are becoming more powerful causes of crime.

During 1904, the figures for burglary and housebreaking were 2,942, an increase of 79 over the previous year. As these offences are usually committed by habitual criminals, there is some satisfaction in knowing that the increase in this kind of offence is but small in comparison with the increase of the two previous years. But the fact that this increase still goes on demands attention, and it is evident that the problem of the habitual criminal still awaits solution. There has been an increase of 110 over the previous year in the number of juveniles (*i.e.*, persons under the age of sixteen) committed to prison, and an increase of 1,031 in the number of those under twenty-one; the total for the year being 1,141 boys and 43 girls under sixteen, and 16,081 males and 2,326 females under the age of twenty-one. During the year 54,388 prisoners were dealt with, showing an advance of 3,086 on the previous year. This increase has been going on year by year, for in 1893 the number so dealt with was 33,862. 138 prisoners were certified insane in local prisons during the year; 85 of these were insane when received, and 53 were found insane within a month of reception. It is a noticeable fact that, while crimes of dishonesty have considerably increased, there was during the year a reduction of no less than 1,044 in the number of women charged with larceny.

In Scotland the most satisfactory feature of the figures for 1904 is the fact that the daily average number of prisoners in custody has dropped from 2,604 to 2,545. But the number of committals to prison being 3,546 less than the previous year, the average length of time that prisoners were in custody rose from 15.8 to 16.5 days. Crime in Ireland appears to be stationary. For six years the daily average of prisoners to 100,000 of the population ranged between 61 and 58; in 1904 the average was 59 Drunkenness appears to be slightly decreasing; the proportion of prisoners committed for this offence has fallen from 50 to 43 per cent. A daily average of 2,601 prisoners was maintained during the year. The principal conclusions as to the increase and decrease of crimes and offences to be drawn from British statistics may be thus shortly stated:

1. Crimes against the person have diminished.
2. Crimes of the classes chiefly committed by habitual criminals have ceased to increase at the same rapid rate as in previous years.
3. Minor offences of dishonesty have increased.
4. Serious frauds of dishonesty and trust have increased.

5. Drunkenness is stationary.

6. Offences of the vagrancy class are growing rapidly.

From our Dominion, for the same year (1904) the number charged with murder was 27, against 26 in the previous year. Of the 27 cases, 14 convictions resulted from the trials. There will be a small increase in the number of homicides in the Dominion this year, in Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Quebec Province. The increase in the number received from jails is ten per cent. as compared with the previous year. In Canada we have 333 1-3 prisoners per million population, and this number has held stationary during the last ten years.

Since the year 1885 there have been in the United States 131,951 homicides, and only 2,286 convictions for murder. In the year 1904 the number of murders increased to 8,432, while the number of executions for the same year was 110, against 108 executions for the year 1885, with 1,808 murders committed. During the last five years 45,000 persons were murdered in the United States. More persons were murdered last year than died of typhoid fever. This awful total has been due to the way in which the law was administered. And the law itself is bad and inefficient. It is burdened with restrictions and technicalities, and in almost every case the criminal has nine chances of escaping to one of being found guilty.

So declared Judge Marcus Kavanagh in an address before the alumnae of St. Ignatius College on "Enforcement of the law in large cities." He declared that the United States was "the most criminal country in the world and the jury system the most loose and antiquated." In 1880 there were 1,350 prisoners per million population of the United States, and in 1890 there were something over 1,500 prisoners per million population, a gain of 12 per cent. during the ten years. The figures for 1905 are yet incomplete, but they show even a larger gain of the criminal population per capita, about 2,000 persons per million, making an increase of 20 per cent. during the past five years. Approximately one divorce suit in every three marriages is the appalling record disclosed by a compilation of statistics for the first eleven months of 1906.

In India the Reformatory School at Chingleput was the first of its kind established. An esteemed correspondent has very kindly furnished some particulars of its work for 1904. The school was kept up at its full strength of 185 boys, and complaints are made as to the lack of accommodation. Another school, it is said, is sorely needed. The inmates included 6 Christians, 24 Mohammedans, 2 Brahmins, 27 of the criminal classes, 106 non-Brahmins and 20 Panchamas. 128 boys were convicted and committed for theft and 43 for housebreaking.

In New South Wales, Australia, the steady decrease in the number of prisoners, which was noticeable in previous years, was still more pronounced in 1904—in that year showing a decrease of 774. On December 31st, 1894, there was a prison population of 2,604. On the last day of 1904 the number had fallen to 1,685, an actual reduction of 919. The total commitments to prison, 13,380, showed a decrease of over 700 compared with the previous year. In 1885 the commitments were 20,740, upon which number the year 1904 showed a reduction of 7,360, although the population had increased by half a million. Although this decrease in prison population must be a source of satisfaction, the Comptroller is by no means satisfied, for he points out that these figures are swelled by habitual drunkards and vagrants, who are constantly going in and out of prison, and who are convicted many times over during the year; one man alone having over twenty convictions in the year. He also points out that the methods of dealing with these human derelicts are hopelessly defective, and need radical alteration. The number of the prison population, he considers, might be still further reduced if a system of probation was established, and he goes on to say: "My experience convinces me that there is a great deal too much gaoling for minor offences. It is no doubt an easy way of meeting a difficulty, but it causes misery and great expense."

The Inspector-General's report for Victoria, 1905, gives some interesting and encouraging information. Although the daily average of prisoners shows an advance of 16 over that of the previous year, yet comparing this average with that of 1891, 1892 and 1893, it shows a substantial decrease. In 1891, the daily average was 1,886 prisoners; in 1905, 1,034. In the former year there was 1 prisoner to 613 of the population, but in the latter the proportion was 1 to 1,178, a decrease of nearly one-half. But while the number of commitments to gaol has been reduced, the number of those sentenced to more than two years' imprisonment had increased; the inference being that the more serious crimes have slightly increased, while minor offences have largely decreased.

The Report of the Comptroller-General of Prisons in New Zealand states that there was an increase in the gaol population on Dec. 31st, 1905, of 230 over that of Dec. 31st, 1895. The Inspector-General of Victoria in his Report gives some particulars of the Tree-Planting Prison Camps in New Zealand supplied to him by Col. Hume, Inspector of Prisons. Some following particulars may be of interest. Prisoners are employed in tree-planting on plains belonging to the Crown, which are not considered suitable for cultivation. There are four tree-planting camps, the largest having 60 prisoners, the smallest 25. Prisoners engaged in tree-planting earn by good conduct a remission of one-half day per week. There is no night supervision, the prisoners being locked in their huts by bolts and padlocks on the outside. Four prisoners sleep in each hut. Their clothing and diet are the same as in town prisons; the proportion of officers, who are all single men, is one to eight prisoners; the officers occupy similar huts to those occupied by the prisoners, but only two occupy each hut; no extra pay is given to the officers, but they are supplied with rations; the prisoners are supplied with library books, and friends are allowed to send them daily papers or periodicals; when possible, Divine Service is held on Sundays by visiting clergy or lay readers.

In Egypt, from a Blue Book recently issued, it appears that crime is slightly decreasing. During 1904, 3,109 persons were convicted; in 1905 the number fell to 3,011, a reduction of 98; which is considered satisfactory.

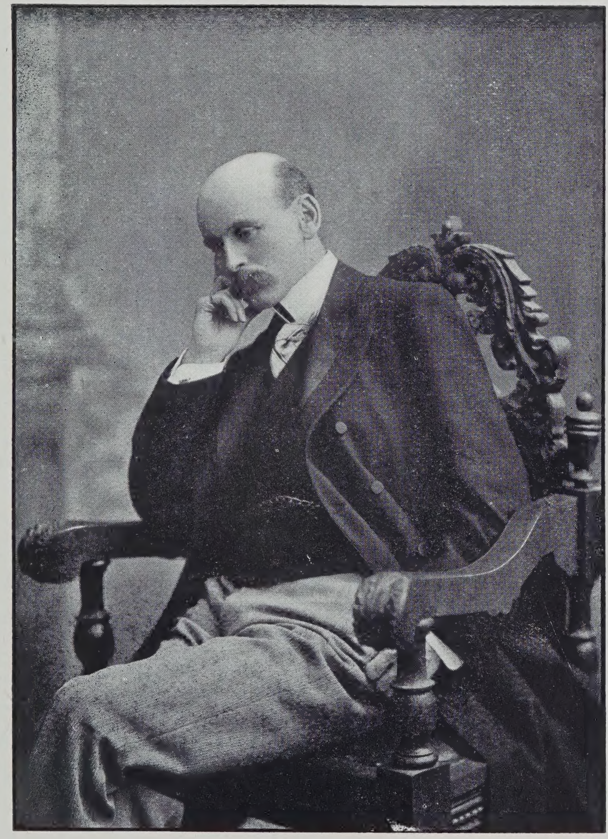
CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES IN CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT.

Address by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 28th, 1907. Discussion by Mr. T. E. Champion, Captain A. T. Hunter, and Dr. D. J. Goggin.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

If the bosom of the future should hold a destiny for Canada apart from the British Empire; if the cherished ideal of loyal British peoples around the globe should never be realized and separation rather than closer union become a fact; it will be due in no small measure to the present-day Americanization of Canadian thought, Canadian habits, Canadian literature and the Canadian press. By this I do not mean the creation of an annexation sentiment. Indeed, the process referred to is going on side by side with the growth of still more vigorous opposition to continental union. It is rather the gradual but steady development of a non-British view of things; a situation in which public opinion here regarding the heart of the Empire and Imperial policy is formed along the lines of United States opinion, and, therefore, of an alien point of view.

Public opinion in Canada has been curiously formed and developed. It is the product of external influence to a greater extent than has been the case in any country of historic times. In the beginning French traditions struggled with English ideas and ideals. A little later, in Upper Canada, the Americanized school-books which Egerton Ryerson so vigorously denounced, American school-teachers and American preachers, helped to fight an also imported Loyalist sentiment and the governing predominance of a Tory party whose views were those of the class to which its members had belonged in the



Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.

Thirteen Colonies. After the early "fifties" came the continental influence of trade. The Reciprocity arrangements of 1854-66 created a firm belief in the beneficence of United States commerce, and although the abrupt and unfriendly abrogation of the Treaty prevented this feeling from developing into one of annexation, it none the less laid the foundation of the Reciprocity idea which held so high a place for so many years in the minds of a large part of our people and culminated so keenly in the party battle of 1891.

While this sentiment of what might be termed trade continentalism—as distinct from political policies or principles—was being urged or discussed during many years the natural effect was to aid in keeping United States greatness, United States prosperity, United States markets before the minds of our people and to, in relative proportion, exclude the trade and commerce, the markets and phenomenal prosperity, the greatness in so many quarters and so many ways of Great Britain, from the continuous thought and consideration which they might otherwise have received from our press and people. In this and other ways, the feelings of Canadians were unconsciously Americanized. Not, as I have said, in the sense of a preference for United States institutions or a desire for United States union, but in a feeling, in many circles, that our trade interests up to eight years ago (when the Preferential tariff worked a change) were more bound up in those of the United States than in those of Great Britain.

Meantime, also, came the influence of constant travel and inter-marriage between the two countries and the migration of many Canadians to the United States, with, later on, the coming of the people of the United States to Canada. Gradually our democracy has assumed a continental garb. It is not the democracy of Great Britain. In the main, what the people of the United States do not like we do not like, though in a somewhat modified form. They sneer at monarchy; we are inclined to tolerate it. They sneer at the British aristocracy, when not trying to marry into it; we copy their cartoons, reprint their often silly and ignorant articles upon the subject, accept their sensational and scandalous gossip and hear little of the environment which makes an institution of that kind, strong and valuable in one country when it may not be popular in another. They sneer at all titles except those of "Colonel" and "Honourable"; we, in many cases, do the same on the ground that knighthoods, for instance, are not suited to "our democracy." They organize theatrical syndicates which flaunt the United States flag, and vaunt United States deeds and heroism and greatness, and sneer at everything British; we accept their plays, sometimes cheer the sentiment, and, in any event, allow distorted ideals to rest in the minds of young people who have never seen the British Isles, and perhaps never will.

Our Labour organizations affiliate with and sympathize with United States concerns; our industrial organizations are, at times, doing the same thing; our social life is largely that of the United States, as is the lack of manners or respectfulness in the young, and the code of business, commercial, or financial honour amongst their elders. In all these things, and they are the very essence of nationality, we are far more of the United States than of Great Britain. In all these things, also, by just the degree in which we have absorbed or accepted, or followed, the fashions and follies of the great Republic, with its swarming mass of people, we have by just that degree drawn away from Great Britain—away from the Empire of which it is the heart and head.

Some of this was perhaps inevitable, but the most serious factor in drawing public sympathy and regard away from our Mother-land is still to be described, and out of it comes the connection between what I have written and the view Canada takes of such matters as the Jamaican incident, the Newfoundland affair, the Alaskan Boundary, etc. From the time when cable communication was established between London and New York, and in active working condition, a new and most vital factor arose. The American Associated Press was formed in New York. It sent trained American journalists to represent it in London, and in other parts of the British Empire and the world, with subsidiary headquarters in London. These men were born and bred in the American pride of country; American contempt for supposedly *effete* monarchies and wicked aristocracies; American indifference to and ignorance of the vital distinction between British institutions and those of continental Europe. Gradually, too, as United States journals evolved the " yellow " type, and became more and more inclined to sensationalism; more and more anxious for news, whether true or false, exaggerated or distorted; more and more hostile to Great Britain up through all the years of the Alabama controversy, the Atlantic Fishery and Behring Sea disputes, Fenian Raids and Boundary questions, to the days of the present change and spirit of international cordiality, the tone of the despatches were frequently anti-British and always non-British.

Meanwhile, the American Associated Press had become a power—perhaps the greatest modern influence in the moulding of American thought. Into this system came most of the daily press of the United States, and, except where a few great and wealthy papers had a special correspondent in London, out of it came all the news from abroad received by the people of the United States. Into this system, too, came the daily papers of Canada—partly because it was cheaper than special cables and partly because, until very lately, it was impossible for our limited population to support the cost of a separate system. During all these years, therefore —with occasional exceptions so limited as to render them unimportant—the Canadian people, the children who are now young men, the young men who are now growing old, the women who are the mothers of this youthful nation, have been fed daily, weekly, monthly, yearly with the American view of everything British or of everything connected with that marvellous development of Imperial power which is the envy of thinking and travelled Americans and the object of jealous regard by the publicists and journalists of the Republic.

This American view of British affairs—of its politics, personalities, events, legislation, development, Colonial unity efforts, the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, the Church of England, etc., need not be—and is not always—actively hostile in order to work the harm in Canada which has evolved of late years, and which, as surely as these words are written, will result in our separation from the British Empire if not checked. The point I want to make and to press home to the thinking men before me is that, whether actually written in a spirit deliberately hostile to Britain or not—and much of our news in the past thirty years has been so written—it was always, unavoidedly and inevitably, written from a *Foreign* point of view. In other words, the people of this generation in Canada have imbibed all their information of British and Empire affairs, or of British relations with the United States, as cabled from London, or telegraphed from New York or Washington, through despatches written by Americans, in the American spirit and policy, for the people and the press of the United States.

Important as is this continuously Foreign view of affairs and conditions at the heart of the Empire, even more important is the fact that when some issue arises between Great Britain and the United States on account of Canada, the people of this country have actually formed their opinions upon what was transpiring and received their "information" regarding the policy of the Mother-Country from and through the people who for the moment were their diplomatic enemies, and at times—as in the Venezuelan crisis—were their positive and actual enemies; ready for, and, in newspaper circles expecting, immediate war. Hence the curious ideas held in Canada regarding some of the matters at issue between the three countries. Hence the natural contempt for British diplomacy—a contempt formed in the school of American hostility or upon the vainglorious assumptions, conceited prophecies, and inaccurate statements of American journals and United States correspondents. Hence Canadian ignorance of such events as Lord Salisbury's declaration to the American Government at a certain juncture that another seizure of Canadian vessels in the Behring Sea would mean war. Hence the formation of Canadian opinion in the Alaskan Boundary question by (1) utterly unwarranted and spread-eagle despatches from New York, Washington, Seattle, San Francisco, etc., published in the Canadian press for nine months before the Arbitral decision, to the effect that Lord Alverstone would support the American contentions; (2) despatches from London to the same effect; (3) the omission of the slightest cabled information following the Award on October 20th, 1903, to the effect that Lord Alverstone had rendered an elaborate judgment giving and explaining the grounds for his decision. Hence, very largely, the extraordinary prejudices formed in Canada regarding the Jamaican episode.

Studied in the light of despatches in British papers this latter affair was very simple. Admiral Davis was the first and chief offender. He offended against international law by landing armed troops upon British soil not only without his permission, but (according to the London *Times* correspondent) against the wishes of the Governor. He acted in defiance of all recognized laws of courtesy and international decency by carrying his flag with him, planting and keeping it flying over a hospital building previously in charge of Catholic priests, and permitting the troops to carry it through the streets of the city while performing what he claimed to be a purely charitable work. It is not difficult to understand the arrogance with which this was done, the cheers of the many American residents and merchants of Kingston, the indifference shown by the crowds of American tourists in the Island to the wishes and policy of the Governor, the danger which he feared from any aggressive treatment of the large black population by armed sailors accustomed to treat with contempt the negroes of their own country or the natives of the Philippines. In Jamaica the black population are accustomed to the mild, but law-enforcing rule, of the British, and this landing of United States troops might have had an unfortunate effect upon them.

The Governor of Jamaica had at his command 2,000 black troops and plenty of black labour. There was no question of saving lives, as the landing took place four days after the earthquake. The Governor told Admiral Davis that he was quite able to maintain order, but the latter none the less landed troops, patrolled the streets, and guarded the perfectly safe American Consulate. Is it any wonder that Sir Alexander Swettenham was angry, and that the British lion in him made a protest which was more vigorous than wise, more accurate than diplomatic? The Governor's letter was right in principle but wrong in phraseology. Who in the name of commonsense should be the most censured—the man who first offended, and whose aggressive infraction of international law is obvious; or the Governor who properly resented what Mr. Hamer Greenwood described as American "bounce"; and who defended British prestige in the eyes of a large and ignorant native population and of the somewhat assertive American residents of Kingston—while making an unfortunate slip in the terms of a hasty letter written at an anxious time?*

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* The following is an extract from a letter (July 19th) in the London *Times*, written by Sir Frank Swettenham, a brother of the Governor, and evidently giving the latter's version of the affair :

"Admiral Davis, who had omitted to fire the customary salute on arrival in a British port, landed unannounced early on January 17th, and at once sent an armed guard to the American Consulate. Admiral Davis then, without any communication to the Governor, went to the Secretariat, where he found the Colonial Secretary, a police officer, and a number of people in the yard, as the office was not considered safe. The Admiral asked if he could be of any assistance, and the police officer volunteered the information that there was a mutiny in the penitentiary. Admiral Davis at once offered men to suppress this reported mutiny, and the Colonial Secretary apparently acquiesced, both he and the Admiral seeming to forget that under Colonial Officer Regulation No. 209, and by universal custom, the commander of a foreign warship can only communicate with the Governor. Regulation 209 says, 'In no case will he communicate through the Colonial Secretary.' About 9 a.m., sixty marines were landed and marched to the peni-

More important, however, than any dispute between an American Admiral and a British Governor is the fact, which I have been leading up to, of Canadian sympathy with the former caused by a twisting of the telegraphed news to a degree which even the American Associated Press never before equalled. I charge that important and responsible body with sending one-sided, coloured, inaccurate pen-pictures of the complicated conditions in Kingston and Jamaica generally. There is an annexationist party there composed largely of certain American merchants and others who benefit by trade with the United States, and of a few English who resent the withdrawal of the British fleet, and look upon the West Indies as fated

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tentiary, and only then did the Admiral call on the Governor and inform him of what he had done. The Governor pointed out that the action taken was very irregular, and that the landing of armed foreign sailors was contrary to all international practice. The Admiral explained that if the men had to be withdrawn it would place him in a difficult position with his superiors, and the Governor recognizing that the circumstances were peculiar, said he would accept the situation on condition that the men were withdrawn as soon as he asked for their removal. Naturally this offer was gratefully accepted, and the Governor then drove the Admiral to see the General and the camp, took him to the Secretariat, the chief police station, and finally to the penitentiary, where Admiral Davis left the Governor. Shortly afterwards the Governor went on board the Missouri, returned the Admiral's call, requested him to withdraw his men from the shore, and understood that Admiral Davis acquiesced. The American armed parties were withdrawn, and the incident appeared to be concluded.

"About 9.30 a.m. on the 18th, Admiral Davis sent to the Governor a letter, dated the 17th, which has been published, and in which the Admiral stated that, in his view, the Governor had not the means to deal with the situation. To back his opinion Admiral Davis had again landed armed working parties, and had established a field hospital under the American flag. Under any circumstances these proceedings and criticisms would have been remarkable, but here they seemed to invite a repetition of the request to withdraw the American sailors, and, as that result was urgently necessary, the Governor had to employ any means in his power to establish his authority, to ensure performance of promise already given, and to relieve a situation which ought never to have arisen. He then wrote his letter of January 18th, and the American sailors were again withdrawn."

to join the Union. This action is opposed to the Governor and the English administration, and vehemently hostile to him and them in any issue such as the present. They gloried in the landing of United States sailors and the flying of the United States flag, and no doubt dictated the criticisms of the Kingston *Telegraph* which were cabled here. Yet it was the opinions, the protests, the animus, of this section of the population that permeated and practically controlled the despatches from Jamaica.

In a nutshell, it may be said that Canadian public opinion was moulded in this whole matter by the utterances and opinions of the American colony in Kingston, through the American Associated Press. We never received any fair report of the Governor's action. It was chiefly a retailing of virulent criticism of his inconceivable impudence in ordering American troops out of Kingston and in daring to resent in satirical terms the unwarranted action of an American Admiral. Cuba is hardly American soil, yet if a British Admiral were to land sailors at Santiago after an earthquake, clear the streets under his waving flag, and hoist the Union Jack over a public building "in the interests of charity," it does not require a vivid imagination to estimate the consequences. The initial conduct of Admiral Davies was slurred over and only casually referred to as an interrupted work of charity; the action of the Governor was dealt with in every form of varied insinuation and attack. Canadian opinion was, in short, formed along what I will again describe as continental lines, as it was in the Alaskan Boundary case, and as it is even now in the Newfoundland case. Again and again the formation of Canadian thought has been and is being Americanized, and our people are still unaware of the fact.

Before concluding, a word may be said about some other collateral influences in this process of Americanization. Most people are now aware that through the Canadian-American Postal arangement of 1875 a clear preference was and is given United States magazines and periodicals in this country—which, by the way, many are demanding that Great Britain should make good. Most people, however, are unaware how steadily the resulting influx of cheap United States periodical literature is moulding public thought along the lines of American Military and Navy traditions, American democracy and business methods, continental conditions and social unity—aided by the affiliation of Labour bodies and the assimilation of political methods. Added to this influence of current popular literature and the already-described power of daily cabled news is the curious effect upon the opinions of Canadian journalists which is exercised by the United States press itself. It is not an exaggeration to say that the average Canadian newspaper man rarely sees a British paper and still more rarely studies British politics or conditions from both sides and from authoritative sources. As a rule the Canadian journalist sees almost entirely the papers of the United States and Canada. When dealing with questions of sudden importance, such as the Jamaica question or the cabled decision of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, he is naturally and inevitably influenced by (1) the cabled, and, I repeat, Americanized news in his own papers, and (2) by the clever editorials in New York, Chicago, or Washington journals. They are all before him, perhaps on the very day they are written; he has little from the British side of the case, either cabled or written; his opinion is formed or largely influenced by the piled-up masses of papers from a Foreign country—and in these cases the country opposed to the national and natural view of his own Empire.

From all these influences came the curious moulding of public opinion in Canada. Hence the blame so hastily and unfairly laid upon Sir Alexander Swettenham; hence the oversight shown toward the real offender and the real offence; hence the exaggerated importance given to an unwise utterance under conditions of peculiar provocation; hence the curious picture of this British country hastily, and without thought, taking through its press the American view of a situation in which the United States really offered an insult to our own territorial power and national flag; hence the Americanization of Canadian thought in the way of an increasing and emphatically distinct Foreign view of British affairs and policy and politics amongst our people; hence the duty of all Canadians, whether Imperialists or not, to comprehend and combat this extraordinary and powerful influence which is moulding the sentiment of Canada and threatening to guide its future into one of separation from British ideals, institutions, and unity.

Mr. T. E. Champion, of The Telegram: I have been delighted with Mr. Castell Hopkins' remarks. I am not going to criticize them now, except to say that he is absolutely and entirely and wholly inaccurate about the newspaper press in this city and in the statement that newspaper men do not read British newspapers, and that they are wholly influenced by American sentiment. If he will have the kindness to step over to *The Telegram* as soon as he has listened to other comments, we will furnish him with all the English papers from January 1st. If he will come across to *The Globe* he will find the same, or to *The Mail and Empire.* As regards Mr. Hopkins' address, taken altogether, it was interesting; it was true and very convincing; but as regards his remarks about the newspaper press, all I have to say is that Mr. Hopkins has relied upon his imagination for his facts.

The latter here interjected the statement that he adhered to every word he had used or fact stated.

Captain A. T. Hunter: I am very glad that Mr. Hopkins brought up this question, and I am glad that in his treatment of the subject he has brought up the concrete instance of the Swettenham-Davis episode. One fault of Imperial Clubs of this kind is that we are too abstract; we should be concrete, and this is a concrete instance—the Swettenham-Davis episode. It is an admirable incident, in that it illustrates the entire difference of point of view which Canadians, Englishmen, and Americans now hold in England and in the United States. This Swettenham-Davis trouble was considered largely as a question of good taste or good manners. Perhaps the Admiral was too impulsive; perhaps the Governor was too previous. (Laughter.) These great nations are extremely polite to each other. They are as mutually appreciative as the President and Secretary of a company getting ready to raise each other's salary. Unfortunately, we British subjects in the New World are in a position of shareholders or policyholders. We forget to admire when our Imperial dividends are complimented over to Uncle Sam. One Editor here in this city was so lacking in Imperial and international loyalty as to suggest that "Imperialism might be found drowned in a flood of Old Country gush over the United States." Some day we will have to hold, willingly or unwillingly, a shareholder's or policyholder's meeting, and perhaps we will have to hold an Imperial audit.

We are reminded reasonably often that our contribution to the Imperial Navy has not been received at the Head Office. Perhaps if we took advantage of such a thing as the Swettenham-Davis episode we might get out everything on both sides of the account, and find whether we receive anything from being British subjects. Of course, it might hurt Jamaica to close the doors at present and hold our shareholder's meeting at this moment. If you send the American "Old Glory" home you send American cash home also; because American cash never goes abroad unless chaperoned by American patriotism in the proportion of sixteen to one. But sooner or later we shall have to hold that meeting. In expressing myself, unfortunately not in the chosen language of the gentleman who has spoken, I must differ from him as to his views of Governor Swettenham's language. I do not like Mr. Hopkins' remark about the language of Governor Swettenham being ill-chosen, because I want to burn a candle to "Jimmie of Jamaica." Governor Swettenham is, to my mind, an admirable man, whether in his acts or his letters. His literature, which he has been called upon at headquarters to withdraw, reminds me of some of the orders of the Duke of Wellington in praising an officer for doing something contrary to the Duke's orders. And in addition to that the Governor is troubled with what the Greeks used to call the love of doing things, and his method of setting about doing things reminds one of Oliver Cromwell trying to get into a fortified town.

It might pay Canada to compensate Jamaica for any injuries she may suffer. It is the irony of British connection that here is one colony that has so often suffered by Englishmen sacrificing it, and there is another colony that is perhaps now suffering by an Englishman maintaining British rights. It might be the irony of British connection, it might pay to compensate Jamaica for what she has suffered, if the British Government could thereby be induced to say that every act and every word of Governor Swettenham represents the British policy in the New World. It would, in that case, pay Canada to rebuild, at her own expense, the broken city of Kingston. If, on the other hand, we are given to understand that a King's representative in the Colonial world of America holds his job by virtue of being deferential to the Americans, and on condition that he dips the Union Jack to "Old Glory," then the advantage of British connection might require further illumination.

Dr. D. J. Goggin: I do not propose, because I do not agree with a great deal of what has been said, either as to the facts of the case or the inferences to be derived therefrom, to speak at length. It is better that I should not touch upon these points at all than to deal with them at insufficient length. Some strong language has been inrulged in, language with which, so far as my knowledge of the Dominion and the United States goes, I do not agree. But these are largely matters of opinion, you can hardly call them matters of fact. One man reads one thing, and another man reads the same thing, and the inferences they draw are by no means alike. I think we have made rather too much of this Jamaica incident. We have arrived at the time when we can very well afford to drop it. England may take a long time to make up her opinions, but as I grow older I come more and more to the conclusion that when the last word is said she is nearer right, when you look at it twenty-five or fifty years after. I am prepared to leave it with her. Nor is one able to deal in three or four minutes with the influences that are at work in moulding public opinion, and with which Mr. Hopkins dealt at surh length. Regarding the influence of the American Associated Press he did not say one word too much about it. I would like to emphasize that, but condemning it is not going to remedy it to any great extent. What are you going to do about getting a Canadian Associated Press? When shall we have our own representatives send us real news from Europe free from American bias. To sit still, or to talk and do nothing is not worth much.

Mr. Hopkins: We have a Canadian Associated Press subsidized with $15,000 a year by the Canadian Government, and with some $15,000 allowed from certain newspapers. That Association sends a small amount in cablegrams daily to the morning and evening papers, and much of this cabled stuff is the most absolute slush that can possibly be described—worse even in its anti-British influences than much of what the American Associated Press has been sending.

Dr. Goggin: Mr. Hopkins has said practically what I was about to say. Whose fault is it? If the newspapers here will simply say: "That sort of thing will not do; we will not have it," and bring their influence to bear at Ottawa and on the other side, we can change the *personnel* thereof, and when we have accomplished that, let us improve the service. We have a vast quantity of cheap American magazines coming into this country. On the train one day I bought one dollar's worth of these United States periodicals, and of all the rubbish a man could buy for a dollar, I got it. Something can be done to remedy this in the Postal service, and our people should do something here, as well as ask the Old Country to do something. I do not agree with Mr. Hopkins about the newspaper offices. My experience has been that British journals and magazines are found to an extent that rather surprised me. In some of the larger towns of the west I saw the London *Spectator* and the London weeklies and quarterlies.

Now, apart from the magazines and the Associated Press there are our pulpits and debating societies, our

Clubs like this, the debates in our own Local Legislature and the debates in the Dominion House, which are all tending to shape public opinion here, and I do not know that there so much Americanism is in evidence. I can only speak within the limits of my own knowledge, but I have found a strong British sentiment as I have passed from place to place. There is the question of the people we are bringing into our great West. I spent years working amongst them. These people from the South have the same customs; the same habits of thought; largely the same political aspirations as to forms of government. They have the same laws; far back they derived their laws from the same source; their literature from the same source; their love of country; and I find that when they come to the Great West they are prompt to take their part in the industrial and civic life of this Province. They take an active interest in local elections, and in the Provincial elections, and they obey our laws. They say that they are not any better than their own laws, but they admit that they are better administered. They have come to be Canadian citizens. There is no Americanizing of the West as far as that is concerned. Their children go into our schools, and are taught the Maple Leaf, and God Save the King. They read our Canadian Histories, and our English Histories, and all the great deeds that were done in the past; those things that help to shape a man's opinion, that stir his feelings; these things are taught to them there in the schools, and this is producing a British ideal, and an Imperial ideal, as I see it, and as I have watched it time after time.

All this patriotism comes in certain ways, and comes quietly. It is a thing of slow growth, but of lasting influence. That boy who in the school learns the traditions of the country is the one upon whom we have to work. We will never make Canadian citizens out of many of the old people. They cannot understand our political institutions, nor many of our customs, but their sons and grandsons, brought up in the common schools, will enter into the life, industrial, commercial, and political, of this country. The process is a slow one, expensive, more expensive than I think it ought to be. I would rather have fewer citizens of better quality, but when we get these children into the schools and educate them we will make them all right. We are creating a public sentiment in the West in favour of our own country; and when they learn in the schools to obey their teachers, later on they learn to respect the rights of others; as larger boys they learn to respect their own rights and take care of them; and when they are in the higher schools and colleges they learn that they have not only personal rights, but that every man will have family rights and national rights. He has also civic rights and duties, and he will learn to value these without fear.

The best foundation is being laid in that way, through instruction, through our press, through our schools and colleges, and we shall be able to develop it into intelligent patriotism. That is the kind of patriotism that counts in the long run. It is a fine thing to die for a country, but it is a better thing to live for one's country. It is easier to shoulder the rifle oftentimes than it is to walk up to the poll, vote according to your convictions rather than your party affiliations, and let it be known afterwards. It is the doing of these little things, fearlessly and faithfully and zealously day by day, that is going to make this country better and more united. I have some respect for flag-days, but not very much. I saw some rags of flags that had been up every day, on my trip, and was ashamed to look at them. It is a good thing to fly the flag, but I think more is being done through occasional use than through the daily use, for indifference is sometimes bred through familiarity. I have only touched upon half a dozen things, but as far as I am concerned I think public opinion needs further cultivation, though I do not think public opinion is being influenced to so large an extent as the speaker of the day has described; yet if he be right and I am wrong, then he has given you the warning, and my words will only fall in after his.

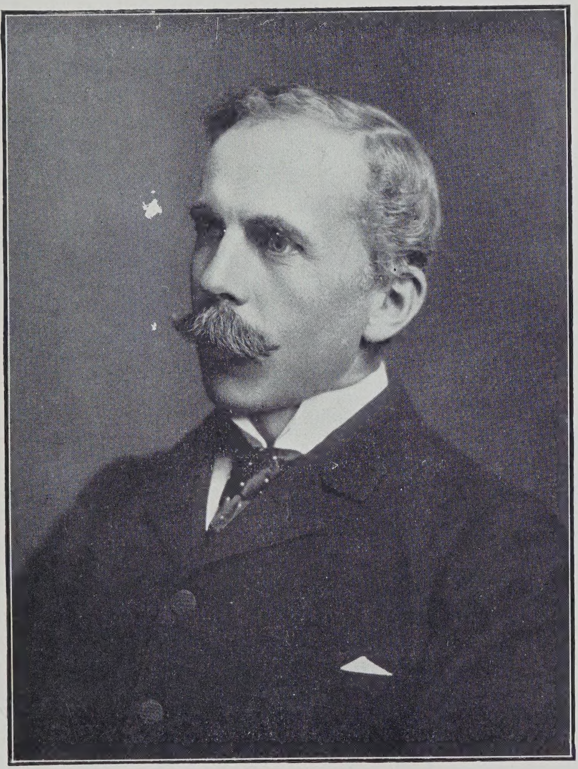
THE UNDEVELOPED MINERAL RESOURCES OF CANADA.

Address by Professor Frank D. Adams, McGill University, Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 7th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to accept the invitation extended to me by your Secretary, to speak to you for a few minutes this afternoon, more especially as Toronto has become such a very important centre for mining. But it seems to me that your Secretary was endeavouring to "carry coals to Newcastle" in inviting me to speak, when you have so many eminent gentlemen here in Toronto who are able to speak on this subject quite as well as, or better than I. When we consider the mineral output of the Dominion at the present time, and that which it had some few years ago, we cannot but be struck by the remarkable increase which has been made in this source of income to the country. In 1886 the total value of the mineral output of the Dominion was $10,221,000; in 1905, which was the last year for which we have really accurate reports, it was $68,574,000. Last year, 1906, it certainly exceeded $70,000,000, so that in the last twenty years we have an increase sevenfold in the mineral output of the Dominion.

Now, I think that as a general rule Canadians hardly recognize how very important the mineral output of the Dominion is, as compared with the agricultural output. We regard ourselves as an agricultural country; the exports of cattle, grain, etc., figure very largely; but when we come to consider what the total value of the mineral output is, as compared with the export of agricultural produce, we find that it is very large indeed. As a matter of fact, at the present our mineral output amounts to about two-thirds of the total agricultural exports of



Mr. F. D. Adams, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.C.

Professor of Geology, McGill University, Montreal.

Canada, including in agricultural exports, the value of the cattle exported. While this very large growth has taken place within the last twenty years, the question sometimes arises, " Shall we continue to have this increased growth, or are we exhausting our mineral deposits? Shall we continue to find mineral deposits in the future, on the same great scale as we have in the past few years, and shall we be able to develop them as we have of late years, so that the next twenty years may show corresponding growth?

In endeavouring to predict what mineral deposits we have, it becomes more or less speculative, and when a person undertakes to address an audience on the subject of the undeveloped mineral resources of the Dominion, they are apt to think he is drawing the long bow. But we have in such case to fall back on that very interesting science Geology, and we find that Geology teaches us very many wonderful things, and enables us to make certain definite predictions, and to assure ourselves that in the future the growth of the mineral industry, if not as rapid as it has been in the past few years, at any rate will continue. I would like, therefore, in my few remarks, to take some half dozen of the principal minerals, and inquire where they are to be found, as indicated by the geology of the Dominion as it has been mapped out for us by the Geological Survey of the Dominion, and by the various Provincial Bureaus, and whether the geological structure of Canada warrants us in concluding that we have great undeveloped resources; in fact, in some cases perhaps great unknown resources.

Now, the principal item in the mineral output which we have is coal. The value of the coal in 1905 was nearly $18,000,000, and represents one-quarter of the output. Gold about $14,500,000. Nickel and copper about equal to each other, $7,500,000. Silver $3,600,000. Before silver we might put in iron, or iron ore, giving rise to pig-iron valued at over $6,000,000, which, however, was largely smelted from imported ore. There are various other mineral products which have not the same value, but which have a value which will increase more and more; among these Portland cement, which is needed in the manufacture of reinforced concrete, which is coming to be the great building material of the Dominion. And we have a variety of other things; but we might inquire with regard to what we have in the way of undeveloped resources. I have here a geological map which takes in the Dominion, the United States, and also Mexico. It serves, in the first place, to show that the Dominion is a much bigger place than the United States, not to say more important.

If we take the coal fields of the Dominion we find that coal occurs in two formations or in two systems. In the first place it occurs in the carboniferous system, the great coal-bearing system of the Paleozoic. It takes in a great part of New Brunswick and certain spots or areas in Nova Scotia; and another great coal-bearing system which we call the cretaceous and the tertiary in the mountain valleys of British Columbia. These are the two great coal-bearing formations of the Dominion. We have certain areas in Nova Scotia—the coal fields of Sydney, at the extreme end of Cape Breton, are being worked very extensively at the present time, and they have been estimated to contain about 1,000,000,000 tons of coal, according to the most recent estimate given. That estimate probably is not over-stated, so that when we consider that they are mining coal at the rate of 3,000,000 or 4,000,0000 tons a year, the coal which we have will last us for a very long time, until times longer than those in which we have any interest.

If we come to other parts of Nova Scotia, we have to remember that the Sydney coal field is by no means the greatest coal field or the only coal field. We have the Pictou coal field, the thickest in the world; also the Cumberland coal field. While this has 1,000,000,000 tons, these other ones have much more; therefore, although the fields are now being developed, we can count on undeveloped mineral resources here; enormous areas of coal large enough to supply the world for very many decades. Mention is never made of the New Brunswick coal except in the reports of the Geological Survey, because although we have in New Brunswick coal areas, very extensive, the coal bed is very thin; but nevertheless it has been estimated that we have there in New Brunswick about 150,000,000 tons of coal in a comparatively thin seam very near the surface, and which could be worked if it were not that in the adjacent Province of Nova Scotia the beds are thicker and mined with greater ease. Nevertheless, in New Brunswick we have undeveloped coal fields which will come to be of great importance.

Unfortunately, from this point directly across the country until we come to Winnipeg, we have no coal. There is a coal material in the Sudbury District, but it is not workable, and then in the Missanabie region there are interpolated bands of good quality of peat; that, however, we hardly can count as coal. The fact remains that there is no coal in Canada, using the term Canada as it was originally used as applying to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. From time to time we have reports of coal, but the coal is never of a quality which can be burned, consisting of minerals such as tourmaline and iron ore. In one case I found a very good tourmaline mine, and the man would not believe that it was not coal. He blasted at it for an hour, and tried it in the forge, but it would not burn. He said it was undoubtedly coal, but they could not use it at present. It was too hard. One great coal deposit is at Bowmanville, Quebec. In the time of Sir William Logan they found the coal and a gentleman in Montreal who was interested in this venture, came to Sir William Logan and said, "You say there is no coal in Canada?" "Yes." "What would you say if I were to take you to Bowmanville and show you that the people were getting coal out of a boring?" Sir William said, "If you had been there a little earlier you would have seen them putting it down." And that proved to be the case, for they brought up an old bread crust which had also tumbled down the boring.

There are great coal fields in our new provinces in the great West and in British Columbia. We have enormous supplies of coal there. The people are living on top of coal, although they are freezing to death. That is a matter of transportation. They are not freezing to death because there is no coal. If we take strips of country we find vast deposits of coal. The Lethbridge Mines expose coal for an area 60 miles long, and a mile wide. There is in one seam something like 330,000,000 tons of coal. When we come to the Crows' Nest Pass field it has been estimated by Mr. McEvoy, who worked up that area for the Geological Survey, that there are 22,595,000,000 tons of coal. So that you see we have a great undeveloped mineral area which is being developed, but in which the development, as compared with the resources, is so small that we may consider it as undeveloped. And all through this district they are discovering new coal areas. Mr. Dowling, of the Geological Survey, has just, in the past year, discovered a new coal area on the flank of the Big Horn range, where he has forty principal coal seams with a thickness of from eight to fifteen feet, for the most part very good. Every time that we cut across British Columbia we find additional supplies of coal. So this whole Western country is full of coal, and we have great mineral resources in our Western Provinces.

If we pass from coal to the next mineral, gold, we find gold in every province in the Dominion. In some cases the mines have not proved very profitable, but we have in Nova Scotia a field which has had an output of about $1,000,000 a year, for a great many years. In Quebec, on the Chaudiere River, they have one which produces good and coarse gold. It is a field which will probably be developed, although the gold is irregularly distributed. Gold is found in Hastings and Lake of the Woods district, and then in Saskatchewan and British Columbia and along this latter range until we get to the great Klondike fields, which are producing gold, although not now attracting so much attention because the coarse gold has, for the most part, been taken out, and it requires to be now worked with capital and by large companies. Are the gold fields going to be further opened up? When we consider the enormous number of gold camps located in this Pacific district as the country became thoroughly opened up; and when we remember how very inaccessible the interior of British Columbia is at the present time; there is every reason to expect that we shall find other great deposits of gold in that locality. In the White Horse district (Yukon), recently, Mr. Cairns has found heavy leads containing gold, heavy prominent leads which indicate that in that region we shall have another great gold field. And the islands up along the North shore—some conditions there enable me to look forward to finding gold in them. In gold, our resources are by no means known. We have great undiscovered gold fields yet awaiting the careful and thorough prospector.

If we come to the subject of nickel we have, as your Provincial Mineralogist can tell you, great deposits in the Huronian belt. When Sir William Logan was making the original survey he called this the Laurentian formation, and when he continued his explorations he found this great formation which he called the Huronian, because it belted the North shore of Lake Huron, and when that formation is traced to the north we see it running to the interior of the great north country. Wherever those are found they show indications of mineral; I therefore look forward to the discovery of great deposits of various minerals in these belts as this north country comes to be more thoroughly opened up and more accessible. In Sudbury we have great nickel deposits. They were unknown until the Canadian Pacific Railway went across. When the C. P. R. opened up a strip through that wild country and made it easily accessible; they at once discovered nickel at the Copper Cliff and Murray mines, and when the new railway ran up to the northwest side of Lake Temiskaming, then Cobalt was discovered on the very roadbed; and wherever we find in that way that these Huronian belts are cut across by railways, so that people can get at and study the belts, there we find that something is always discovered in the way of valuable minerals, and the Geological Survey has rendered great service to the country by tracing out the areas of these belts. They have always endeavoured in advance of settlement to keep these Huronian areas mapped, in order that, as they become accessible, maps could be supplied to prospectors going in, showing them the topography of the country and where they might most profitably ply their trade. We find, then, that we have in these great Huronian areas undoubtedly additional deposits of nickel and copper similar to Sudbury, and as we get to the north there will be, in all likelihood, a whole crop of Cobalts as time goes on.

If we come to the next, copper, we find that up to the present time British Columbia has been the principal copper producing country. In the same way recent explorations in British Columbia have shown similar formations, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that we have discovered all the copper deposits. Also in the Huronian, as shown in the old Bruce mines, copper is being continually found in these belts, associated with nickel, and by itself. In the case of copper, we have good reason to suppose that we will have decided developments in the copper mining industry. The one curious thing with regard to copper is that the first river which runs into the Mackenzie River, is known as the Copper-mine River. When the Hudson's Bay Co. opened up that destrict they found that the Indians had copper implements, although they had no knowledge of the smelting of copper. The Indians told them that the copper was found at the mouth of the Copper-mine River. One of the officers investigated and found large masses of pure copper scattered about on the surface of the country. This section has the same formation as the Michigan Peninsula, where there are great deposits of copper. There is much copper in the Arctic section, and we have also great coal fields there, but they will probably not be available for some time.

With regard to silver, I can only say a few words, but we know that up to the present time British Columbia has been the great silver province, and silver mining there is still going on as vigorously as ever. We do not hear so much about the British Columbia mining stocks, but the mines are probably much more stable, and are actually producing more than ever before. One of the products of the lead mines is silver. All the galena in British Columbia, like that in California, runs high in silver. This is a peculiarity of these galenas in the West, quite different from the galenas in the Mississippi Valley. As exploration goes forward in the great limestone belts, additional silver mines will be discovered together with lead, precisely as we have in the South; and then, of course, the silver output is greatly increased now by the enormous amounts which are being exported from Cobalt, and with the development of the Cobalt field is undoubtedly the chief source of silver in the Dominion. We have it again in the Huronian belt, although silver has been a new development in the Huronian within the last few years.

If we pass on to iron, which, after all, is one of the chief sources of prosperity in any country in which it occurs, it must be confessed that with regard to iron our expectations have not been realized as fully as we could hope. In the South there is the great iron range of Lake Superior, the greatest deposits in the world. There are six million tons in sight there, now. We have exactly these same areas to the north; areas of rocks of the same age, and we hope, by thorough and careful prospecting, to find great bodies of iron ore. By an exploration of these Huronian belts in which the United States iron ore occurs, we may expect to find additional supplies. I may say that Mr. Low, Director of the Geological Survey, found enormous deposits of iron ore a couple of hundred miles in from the Labrador Coast, which makes it somewhat inaccessible. All through to the north we note occurrences, but as to how great they are, is a matter which requires further exploration to decide, but we have hopes that we will find in the north and elsewhere in the more inaccessible portions of the country which will become more accessible, great discoveries of iron. With regard to Portland Cement, we have over great areas of the country excellent material for making Portland Cement and similar materials. We are very well supplied with building materials, and in the West, especially, they are starting great cement factories, because there is a lack of really first-class stone over large portions of the country. But this concrete and brick can be made almost everywhere in the West, and that will be a growing trade for which we have ample undeveloped resources.

Let us pass to the very last that we ought to consider, namely, such things as diamonds. We have heard about diamonds in Ontario. I think there are diamonds in Ontario. Without any doubt, Professor Coleman will be able to discover them whenever he puts his mind to it. And the evidence we have is that down in Michigan and Indiana and elsewhere in that portion of the United States we have great masses of surface stuff called " drift," and the older geologists call this drift because it did not originate from the decay of the underlying rock, but in the Glacial Period was carried down from the North. The greater portion of it has been drifted from Canada to the places where it is. The Americans have stolen their soil from us. As a matter of fact all this soil came from Canada and really belongs to it. I do not know whether we could make good our claim to it! However, in this drift soil they found diamonds in quite a number of places. These diamonds have evidently come from places whence the soil came. The soil was drifted over by the great ice sheet which covered Canada in the time just preceding the age of man. This drift is enormous in extent, very thick, and by chance washings they have found already a number of diamonds, which shows that there must be a considerable amount of value in the way of diamonds scattered through this dirt from the north.

In order to see where the diamonds came from, Kuntz, the mineral expert, from Tiffany's, was sent to investigate these diamond occurrences in Indiana and Michigan. He found that the rocks which were intimately associated with the diamonds were like jasper, often banded with a little iron ore, and a variety of other rocks, which I need not mention, but which are recognized as being associated with the iron ore. We have that kind of thing on Lake Temagami, and in a number of iron ranges which lie in the Huronian Belt to the north, so that there is, to my mind, no reasonable doubt but that these diamonds came from the Huronian belts in the north, and that the same Huronian belts, which are so full of minerals, which contain nickel and silver and copper and iron, also somewhere or other contain rock which holds these diamonds; so that it would be a great thing if one could only find two or three diamond fields up here in the nature of the Transvaal field. That would add materially to the benefits which we have derived from the discovery of Cobalt and other similar areas. In all the other intervening minerals between gold and diamonds, we have hopes and, perhaps, in the few words that I have said, we may conclude that we have not got to the bottom of our mineral resources; that we have great mineral resources which yet await the search of the prospector.

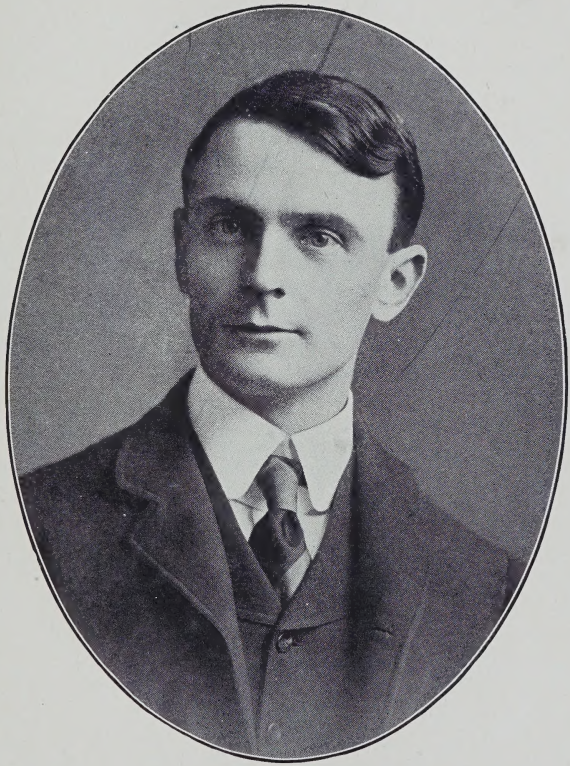
THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN.

Address by Professor G. Oswald Smith, of Trinity University, Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 14th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The saying has now almost passed into a proverb that "the Roman Empire declined and fell; the British Empire shall never decline or fall." Possibly, however, such a sentence is a little misleading, in so far as it may give a mistaken impression concerning the durability of the Roman Empire. By 200 B.C. the Romans might be said to have an Empire beyond Italy and Sicily; just when that Empire came to an end it would be hard to say. Like Charles II., it was "an unconscionable time a'dying." But if we confine our attention to the centuries during which the Empire established by the Roman Senate and people and then by the Emperors, may be said to have maintained more or less its original character, its duration is well indicated by the fact that Britain was one of the last countries to be annexed as a Province and one of the first to be abandoned; and yet the Romans were in Britain for nearly four centuries, a period equal in length to that which separates the Reformation from our own days.

At first sight we may be surprised, that this being the case, so few evidences, material or otherwise, of their occupation seem to remain. In Britain there are no remains to compare with the magnificent temples, arches, aqueducts and amphitheatres that can be seen to-day in Italy, Spain or Southern France. Again, while, for instance, in Gaul the barbarian invaders of the Empire became assimilated to the provincials whom they conquered, so that there the influence of Rome can be in part traced continuously from the days of Cæsar to the present time, in the case of Britain, any influence



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that Rome has exercised on our history and institutions has been almost wholly indirect,—coming in at a far later time from the Continent of Europe.

In fact, the Roman occupation forms rather an episode in the history of our land, but not of our people, unless some of us be Welsh descendants of ancient Celts. The reason for this almost complete break with the past lies partly in the fact that Britain was less completely Romanized than Gaul or Spain, partly in the fact that in Britain the destructive work of the Teuton invaders was more complete than elsewhere; and this destruction in turn was partly due to the stubbornness of the resistance offered by the Romanized, or partly Romanized, Britons to the advancing Anglo-Saxon. Consequently there was but little peaceful assimilation of conquerors to conquered. Just how far it is true to say that the old Roman-British civilization was completely destroyed is a question still in dispute. Some have thought that faint traces of the Roman land system are to be found in the later English manor; and again, that the Celtic population was not driven wholly into the West. The towns were almost all destroyed with fire and sword, some never to revive. But in others a few may have returned to dwell amid the ruins, and the place names survived or revived in modified forms (*e.g.*, Lincoln, Chester, Manchester, London, Caerleon).

In spite, however, of this gap in history, Britain as a Roman Province presents some features of interest to the student of comparative politics. There are points both of similarity and difference between the Roman occupation and development of that country and the work that has been done in India, and is going on elsewhere in Asia and Africa, where the nations of Europe are taking in hand less civilized peoples and imposing their own systems for better or worse upon them. (Cf. Dr. James Bryce, Essay on Roman and British Empires.)

When Julius Cæsar landed in Britain in B.C. 55, the tribes of Britain in the north and west were in a backward condition, but in the Southeastern half of the

Island, where the people were akin to their neighbours on the Continent, a certain degree of civilization had been attained, and the process of development continued during the next 100 years. The political organization was tribal in character, the tribes being controlled by native princes or aristocracies. The main effect of the expeditions of B.C. 55 and 54 was that Rome asserted the right to prevent Britain from affording a refuge for malcontents from Gaul, and becoming a source of danger to the peace of the newly-conquered Gallic provinces. And, after this date, Roman influences were spreading in the island both politically and commercially. It was not, however, until 43 A.D., in the reign of Claudius, that the work of conquest was definitely taken in hand. The pretext for intervention was supplied by a disputed succession to what might almost be called the Empire of Cunobelinus (Cymbeline), King of the Trinobantes, in Essex, whose political influence extended over most of south-eastern Britain. The main reasons for the step were to be found, firstly, in the desire to secure once for all the safety and peace of Gaul, the extension of the frontier being regarded, as has often been the case since, as the best means of protecting it; secondly, in the consideration of the resources of the island, which were known and thought "worth developing." In the Roman writers we do not hear much of economic causes of political and military events, but it is clear that the business man often preceded as well as followed the Roman legionary,—a fact which has found its parallel frequently in modern times.

From 43 onwards the work of conquest and organization proceeded steadily with one serious check, the revolt of the Iceni of Norfolk. Just as has been done by the British in India, the Romans would sometimes leave a district under a native sovereign subject to Imperial suzerainty (e.g., the Herods). In the west this policy was adopted less frequently than in the east, but Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, seems to have occupied some such position as the ruler of a protected State. On his death, with the failure of male heirs, he left his kingdom to be shared between his Queen, Boadicea, and the Roman Emperor. The oppression of the military and political officials and the exactions of the Roman financiers (living in Rome), led to an outbreak on the part of the Iceni, which soon threatened nearly the whole of the south-eastern portion of the Island, and was only suppressed after fearful losses.

For a time the Romans tried to conquer the whole Island, and the farthest point north reached was in the Grampian Mountains, where Agricola defeated the Caledonians in 84 A.D. Eventually this forward policy was abandoned, and the frontier fixed at a line between the Forth and Clyde, though the hold over the south of Scotland was never very secure. Wales, too, was not completely subdued, but held in control by legions posted on the Welsh Marches. Some hold that the decision was unwise, and that later trouble might have been avoided had the tribes been conquered once for all. Possibly we must look to financial considerations as the explanation.

About 120 A.D. the Emperor Hadrian, the great organizer of the frontier defences of the Empire, visited the Island, and with his name is connected the famous Wall from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway; and some years later Antoninus Pius, his successor, fixed the frontier by building an earthen rampart across the Isthmus of Scotland.

The history of the Province was comparatively uneventful, but as a frontier province it was of some military importance; three legions and a large number of auxiliary troops were permanently quartered there, and these gave their commander no small power. The Empire of Caesar and Augustus was a military despotism. The advantages of the system at the time were obvious; law and order were maintained with a strong hand, and consequently such peace and prosperity flourished as had not been known in the latter days of the Roman Republic. On the other hand, since the Empire was not in theory hereditary, there was always the danger of an armed struggle for the succession between the commanders of the great armies posted in different parts of the Empire.

Hence the alternation of periods of anarchy and civil war with generally longer periods of a well ordered and peaceful administration. More than once competitors for the Imperial throne started from Britain at the head of the troops there stationed, the most famous of whom was Constantine. It was from the City of Eboracum (York) that he set out on the career which culminated in his founding, as sole Emperor, Constantinople, in 330 A.D.

During the fourth century, after Constantine, the Empire fell on evil days, partly owing to internal dissensions, partly to renewed barbarian invasions, partly to growing financial weakness. It became increasingly harder to keep in touch with the remoter provinces (a danger which Britain need not fear now, so long as the command of the sea is held). Consequently the Romans gradually lost ground in Britain, while the inroads of Picts and Scots from the north and west, and the Saxon pirates from the south and east, recurred with greater frequency, till finally the province was definitely abandoned in 410.

It is important, however, to remember that, except during these last years, and for occasional short periods before, Britain enjoyed complete peace and security. Of course, just as in India to-day, the rule of the Province was military in character. The Emperor's Legate was primarily the commander of the troops, but this military character was only apparent in the north and west. To protect the Welsh borders and hold in awe the tribes of the west, one legion was stationed at Isca Silurum (Caerleon), another at Deva (the great Camp, Castra, Chester); in the north at York, the governor's headquarters and the Capital of the Province, was another legion; while posted along the two north walls were numerous auxiliary troops. Antonine's wall was strictly a frontier barrier; the southern wall between Newcastle and Carlisle was rather a huge permanent camp, serving as a second line of defence and controlling the districts to the north and south of it. Along the 75 miles of its length were 15 or 16 large stations, some of which, like the military cantonments in India, formed the nucleus of fair-sized towns. Between them at every mile were forts or mile-castles, and between these again, at about every quarter mile, were turrets; in front ran a deep trench, except where the wall passed along the edge of a precipice. South of the wall, and running parallel to its entire length, were a series of earthworks, while between ran a military road, enabling the troops to concentrate rapidly on a given point. Over the north Tyne was a strongly fortified bridge, of which traces can be seen to this day.

Economical farmers have used the Wall as a quarry for centuries since, but the fragments left suffice to give an idea of the thoroughness of the work done by the Romans, a quality which Englishmen have ever admired and sought with varying success to imitate. As an instance of failure to imitate, Dr. C. Bruce, the great authority on the Roman wall, in a lecture on the use of archæology given at the time when the Crimean War was being fought, pointed out that those responsible for the mismanagement of the Crimea might well have drawn a lesson from the study of the Roman remains in the north. He showed how the Romans took every precaution to make a position secure; how complete was their equipment; how well their communications were maintained; how they chose the best sites for their camps, temporary or permanent; how careful they were as to the sanitation of these camps, securing a pure water supply from within or without by aqueducts scientifically laid. The Wall was guarded by auxiliary troops, drawn according to Roman custom, as a means of uniting the Empire, from all parts; while British levies would be serving in the east or south of Europe, or even in Asia and Africa; in Northumberland we can trace the presence of Gauls, Thracians, Dacians, and Spaniards. Similarly in our day the suggestion has been put forward, whether wisely or not, of an interchange of troops and officers between different parts of the British Empire.

Connected with the military tenure of the country was the splendid road system of the Romans. Just as today the conquest and safe-holding of a territory depend largely upon the roads and railways, so the first thing the Romans did to secure a country was to build good roads through it, primarily to obtain rapid transit and inter-communication between troops (so some of the railways in India are primarily strategic) ; secondly, to open up the land and prepare it for the development of civilization. They then became the great transportation routes; many of them, passing along the lines taken by modern railways, converged on London, which soon became an important city (especially as it was also the first landing place on the Estuary of the Thames). They then passed on to the south-east coast, to the ports of Rutupiae, Lemanis, and Dubrae. They were made with characteristic thoroughness, and it has been said, probably with truth, that England had better roads during the first three centuries than ever after till the opening of the nineteenth. Remains of these roads can be seen everywhere, and parts are still in use. In the south-eastern half of the country, to judge from the remains, many of the towns were walled and fortified (e.g., Leicester, Colchester, Silchester and London), but in most instances perhaps, not till towards the end of the period of occupation, when not even the south was secure. For a long time it would seem that they stood in no need of such defences; the conquest once complete, within the barrier maintained by the armies on the west and north the land enjoyed peace and security. While in many parts the forests remained unbroken and the fens reached over wide areas (e.g., Sussex, the Thames Estuary, Sedgemoor), elsewhere the country became settled and fairly well populated, perhaps to the extent of about 1,000,000 inhabitants.

As to the different elements composing this so-called Roman-British population and their relative proportions, one cannot speak precisely. It was certainly "mixed." The troops were drawn from all parts of the Empire, and many of the men on discharge must have settled in the country and married native women. Provincials from the Continent, especially from Gaul. availing themselves of business openings, made their homes there. As to the native British, in some parts members of the class that had formerly enjoyed wealth, power and position, seem to have been allowed to hold their own. This was in keeping with Roman policy, as with the British in India. But no doubt a large number of natives remained in or sank down to the position of serfs or even slaves. When we speak of the prosperity of Roman Provinces it is well to remember the presence there of a submerged fraction of the population, and that more than a tenth. There were not very many Romans or Italians. Perhaps the Governor and his staff were generally such, but not always. In an empire where already in the second century even the Imperial throne had been reached by two Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, where the citizenship and all its opportunities were thrown open to numerous and eventually to all provincials, the idea as well as the fact of a distinct Roman or Italian governing race became more or less obsolete, and the sense of a common citizenship developed rapidly; the enemy of one day was proud to receive the title of "Civis Romanus" the next.

In this wise comprehensiveness we can see a resemblance between the Roman Empire and our own (e.g., Canada and South Africa). In some respects the assimilation between conquerors and conquered was more marked in the earlier than the later Empire. Like India to-day, Britain was held by the power of the sword, and ultimately controlled from headquarters, but the government and administration of the Roman dependencies did not lie so exclusively in the hands of a single ruling class and nationality as is the case in India. There, while natives are largely employed in subordinate posts of the civil and military services, the higher administrative positions are held exclusively by Englishmen. In the Roman Empire the highest posts were open to all, irrespective of their birth and nationality. Of course, there are reasons for this difference. In India, this exclusive policy has been partly necessitated by the great diversity of race and religion and social tradition existing among the native peoples, by peculiarities of racial character, by difference of "colour" between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hindoo. On the other hand, in the Roman Empire this assimilation between the conquering race and the conquered provincials seems to have been more complete than is ever likely to be the case in India, considering the climatic, racial, religious, and political and social differences which separate the Briton from the East Indian. As we know, difficulties have arisen in the past in India from this mutual separation, and are still present, difficulties which will call forth all the resources of British statesmanship to solve.

Britain seems to have become fairly well Romanized, not, perhaps, to the extent that Gaul and Spain were, but certainly in its material aspects the civilization of the province was Roman in character. Roman influences sank deep down through different social strata; it was not a case of a small alien upper class living amidst a population where native characteristics alone prevailed. As has been said, the administration of the Province was military in character. With one important exception, popular institutions, as we know them, hardly existed. There was no representative system. The military "legatus Caesaris" was supreme and responsible only to the Emperor. In addition to his military duties, he exercised supervision over the civil administration; in his Court he dealt with the more important cases, civil and criminal. Imperial officials saw to the collection of taxes, mainly drawn from the land and its produce, part of the proceeds going to the maintenance of administration in the Provinces, part to the Imperial exchequer. On the other hand, as has been pointed out, the attainment of the citizenship and the career open to the talents lay within the grasp of almost any provincial of ability and ambition. The exception to the general statement just made as to popular institutions, is to be found in the municipal autonomy enjoyed by the towns and cities.

It has been well said, that if Rome extinguished the nationality, she encouraged the growth of the municipality; and the Romanization of the Province is well illustrated by the fact that everywhere municipalities framed after the Roman pattern and at the same time consisting of populations mainly native, grew and flourished under Imperial rule. The same experiment has been tried in India, but owing to peculiar conditions with less marked success. Amongst the ruins of Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum in Hants) and other towns can be traced the Forum in the centre of the city, on which the four main roads converged; around it were arranged shops and offices. Close to it is the basilica, with its apse built for the tribunal of justice; near by are the public baths; outside the walls are the amphitheatre and the cemetery. The houses are built to some extent on the Roman plan, but adapted to suit climatic conditions, being fitted with an elaborate hot-air system. Each town had its *miniature* Senate and its magistrates, generally two in number, as the Roman consuls. Subject to the general control of the Provincial governor and his staff, each enjoyed local autonomy, administration of their own affairs lying in the hands of the citizens.

The names of a few of these towns may be mentioned: Isca (Exeter), Porchester, Anderida (Pevensey), Dubrae (Dover), Londinium, Calleva (Silchester), Aquae Sulis (Bath), Glerum (Gloucester), Camulodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (St. Albans), Deva (Chester), Mancunium(Manchester), Lindum(Lincoln), Eboracum (York), Pons Aelii (Newcastle), all being connected by good roads. In these towns there was also some industrial life; beyond providing for local needs, it is true that not much in the way of manufacturing was done, articles of finer make being imported from the workshops of large firms in Gaul and Italy; but traces of dye works and of a silver refinery have been found; in Northants and Kent there are the remains of extensive potteries. At Bath a modern feature has been discovered in the shape of an advertisement for a patent medicine for the eyes.

Country life, too, had its attractions, as witnessed by the remains of villas which are to be seen all over the country from Brading in the Isle of Wight, to Woodchester in Gloucestershire, and Aldborough in Yorkshire; lying, too, in comparatively secluded and unprotected districts, they are a witness to the security enjoyed by the province. Many of these villas must have been the centres of considerable estates on which agriculture was developed. On the demand of the Imperial authorities, or in return for importations of manufactured goods, strange as it sounds to-day, "Food-stuffs and raw materials" were exported in large quantities. As the Imperial revenues were derived mainly from the land, agriculture was encouraged and large areas were under cultivation. In the fourth century we read that the armies of the Rhine were supplied with corn from Britain. There were large forest districts (e.g., in Sussex) from which quantities of timber were drawn; and more important still was the mineral wealth of the land. Tin was brought from Cornwall even before the Roman conquest. In Shropshire and Derbyshire are still to be seen the remains of the workings in lead mines, some owned and worked by the Imperial Government, others leased to private individuals. Iron was found in the north, in Somerset and Gloucestershire, and above all in Sussex. The possibilities of the "Black Country," however, do not seem to have been discovered. Silver and gold were found, but in small quantities, and also coal to a slight extent. Of course, viewed from a modern standpoint, these mining operations could hardly be counted among the industries of the people. They were mostly owned by the Government, and worked by the forced labour of slaves and convicts; but in estimating the economic importance of the province to the Empire, they cannot well be left out of account. A passing mention may be made of the fisheries, of the oyster beds of Richborough (not far from Whitstable), and of the British pearl industry of which Roman writers speak.

The remains of houses in town and country indicate the prosperity of at least a portion of the people. The mosaic pavements, the pottery and plastic fragments, all tend to show that to material prosperity was added a fairly high degree of culture and refinement in this provincial society. When we consider that this civilization flourished for well over three centuries, we may admit the benefits conferred by Rome on our British forerunners. This political and social system had its defects, and was fated to pass away; so that the work of building up civilization had to be begun anew,—on what has happily proved a better and surer foundation. But while it lasted the Romans did a work worthy of the ideal sketched by Rome's national poet: "Others I ween shall fashion better the breathing brass, and from marble shape the living countenance; plead causes better, and tell of the rising stars. To rule the nations, to lay on them the law of peace, to spare the humble, and crush the proud: These, Roman, shall be thine arts." And Rome must have inspired in all her children an enthusiasm which has found an interpreter in our own poet, Rudyard Kipling, in his British-Roman Song:

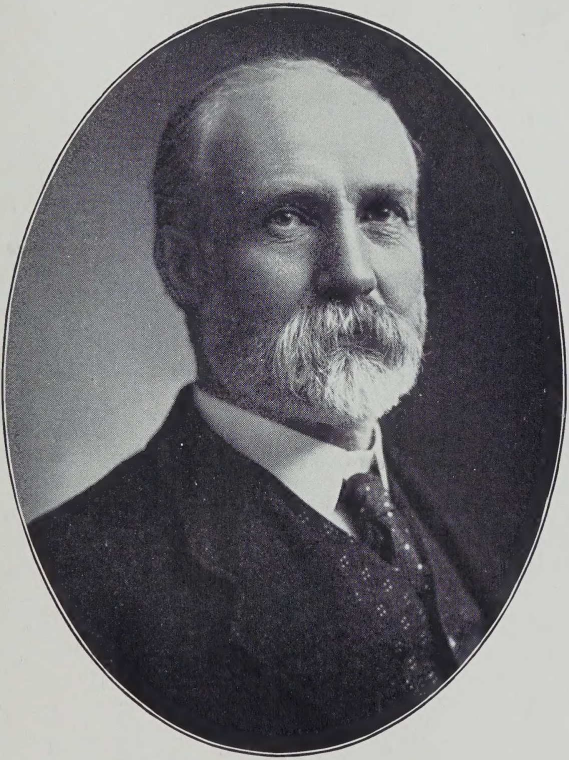
Crowned by all Time, all Art, all Might,
  The equal work of Gods and Man;
City, beneath whose oldest height
  The Race began!

Soon to send forth again a brood,
  Unshakeable, we pray, that clings
To Rome's thrice hammered hardihood—
  In arduous things.

Strong heart with triple armour bound,
  Beat strongly, for thy life blood runs,
Age after age, the Empire round,
  In us thy sons.

Such, too, is the ideal and such the enthusiasm of the Briton of to-day. I have given you mainly facts and but few reflections, but hope that mere record of these ancient facts may still be of interest to those who have made it their purpose to realize what Empire means; what are the duties and great responsibilities which attach to it.

The Rev. Dr. T. C. Street Macklem.—Mr. Chairman: I am sure we have all enjoyed Professor Smith's paper very much indeed. It struck a note pleasant to all of us in the easy and pleasant manner in which he discoursed about places long familiar to us—to all of us by name, to many of us by having visited them; and enshrined in the hearts of all of us because they are the homes of our ancestors. I could almost wish that he had gone on and made use of all the time at his disposal and drawn out to some length the comparison between the Roman occupation of Britain and the British occupation of India and other parts of the Empire, but from what he has said it seems to me very instructive to note the obvious; namely, that the Roman Empire was built up to its wonderful strength partly by the readiness with which it accepted and assimilated native elements of strength wherever it went, and I take it that that is what the British Empire has done, and is doing, and that that is its great and solid and lasting foundation. Wherever the British flag flies, long life and continued glory to it, we all feel sure that there England and British rule will lay hold of whatever is best to be found in the locality, in the customs and habits and manners of the people, and will seek, with wonderful patience, to eliminate that which is not consonant with British law and the better traditions of the British people. That is what we look for in British civilization and in the expansion of the British Empire. So long as that wise policy is continued I think we need not greatly fear the decline and fall of the British Empire. I was struck by the gentle subtlety and delicacy of the compliment paid in the opening pages of Professor Smith's paper to the solidity and enduring quality of the British Empire when he drew that contrast between the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and the British Empire, which should never decline and fall, by saying that if he ventured to differ from that common saying he would point out that the decline of the Roman Empire was not so very rapid, after all!



Mr. A. P. Coleman, M.A., Ph.D.
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GOLD AND THE EMPIRE.

Address by Professor A. P. Coleman, of Toronto University, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 28th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

I think I suggested to your Secretary that the subject of "Gold and the Empire" would be a suitable one. There are two sides to this subject that ought to be interesting to a Club of this sort. I suppose everyone has an idea that gold is something desirable; that, in fact, is one of the very few things in which we are all pretty much agreed. I have often wondered why gold was desirable. We take it for granted that it is, but I do not suppose that one of you has ever argued it out to find why it should be desirable. It is the heaviest of the common metals, too heavy to be convenient for coinage. It is of no use in the arts excepting the decorative arts; it is not used to any extent in the alloys or any other purpose. It is one of the least useful of metals, that is, if you take it as used in the ordinary mechanical arts. Of course, in the fine arts it is used to a considerable extent.

We shall not disagree in this statement that everybody does desire gold, looks on it as being worth having, but why should it have this peculiar position? It is the one thing that does not change in value. Stocks change, as you have discovered lately; silver goes up and down; platinum, the most precious of the common metals, goes up and down, and is now worth nearly double what gold is. It is not platinum, nor silver that we think of as the standard; it is gold. It is a very curious and interesting bit of history how that standard should have come to its present position. When you mine gold there is one very great satisfaction, that you have your value immediately. In the case of steel or silver or cobalt you have to go through a long process before you can market your material and have your money, but gold is money in your pocket directly. It has always the same monetary value, $20.66 2-3 per ounce; no doubt about it. That is one reason why gold mining has such an attraction for everybody. As far as gold is concerned it is one of the commonest metals. Perhaps you may have an idea that it is scarce. As far as distribution is concerned gold is very widely spread. We have 800 miles of territory in Ontario where gold is found. From Larder Lake to the Lake of the Woods there is gold, and yet Toronto has sunk ten times the amount of gold in those mines that has come out of them. The fact is, that gold has a peculiarity not possessed by other metals; namely, that it always must cost at least as much as it is worth; therefore, if someone makes well out of gold mines it simply means that other people must have lost equally. Gold must be worth just about what it has cost. In many cases it has cost a good deal to make up the balance for other parts.

Why should gold be the standard of value? That is a question that we may very naturally ask. There are two or three reasons why gold is serviceable as a standard of value. In the first place, while it is widely spread it is on the whole a scarce metal; that is, you do not find very much in any given place. There is hardly any great country in the world that has not more or less gold, and yet there is little in any one place. That is one great advantage about gold, it is hard to get. If it was easy to get, the bottom would be knocked out of our whole business relationship. It is the fact that it is hard to get that makes it valuable. There are two or three other points that are of value in connection with it and give rise to our esteem for gold. The beauty of the metal is one of them, although I feel that copper, clean and fresh, is perhaps the most beautiful metal. Further, gold resists the action of all ordinary agents very well; does not tarnish easily. It has one or two disadvantages as a standard of value. The most important of these is the fact that it is a very soft metal.

You cannot make a sword or a tool of gold. You must harden your gold or alloy it with copper to give the hardness that is necessary for a coin.

We might turn to another side of the question. Great Britain consists of three not very large islands off the coast of Europe. I suppose that is a familiar thing to the members of the Empire Club. It is one of those parts of Europe that contains very little gold, only one gold mine working, in Wales, which produced about three thousand ounces of gold last year. As gold is worth $20.66 an ounce you can see that the value of the gold mines in Great Britain was very small. They used to have some mines in Sutherland, and they found gold in Ireland. Here we have Great Britain, that contains hardly any gold of her own, possessed of a very large part of the gold of the world. Evidently Britain has gone out of her way to acquire gold. The growth of the British Empire has been largely bound up with the finding of gold. I will quote several examples of this. Not to go further than our own country; you remember that British Columbia not so long ago, about sixty years ago, was nothing but a Hudson's Bay post, with some Indians; one huge forest with the tremendous rivers that flow from the mountains, and no civilized inhabitants. What made British Columbia what it is? How was it that she suddenly sprang before the world? You all know. The gold hunters of the South had pretty well used up the best supplies in California, and they crossed the border by the tens of thousands. In about 1858 people turned their attention to British Columbia, and they easily acquired gold. The gold was the thing which first attracted attention to British Columbia. It was gold that gave us our Western Provinces.

It is doubtful if the Dominion, as we now understand it, would have come into being, with British Columbia as the Western side, but for the finding of gold. No one would have thought of building a railway through that wilderness if there had not been a powerful magnet at the end. You are all young enough to know exactly what happened in the Klondike, and I need not refer to the part that gold played there. The Klondike would have been the Arctic region which it is generally supposed to be (although in reality it has a delightful summer) if it had not been for the discovery of gold. Perhaps worth mentioning is the fact that the richest creek ever known in the world was Eldorado Creek in the Klondike. $20,000,000 worth of gold was taken out of it. So much for our part of the Empire. What about the other parts? We find that several of the most important developments of the British Empire have been along the line of acquiring gold-bearing regions. Australia for a long time was a name to conjure with as a gold-producing country. You know, of course, what it was in the beginning, a convict settlement where Britain unloaded some of her inhabitants that she was glad to get rid of. Botany Bay suggests anything but a beautiful place of plants and flowers. Australia, one of the brightest parts of the British Empire now, was not really found until gold was discovered. That was about 1851, so that you see Australia, from that standpoint, is only about sixty years old.

There was no Australia before, except the small settlement of Sydney and a few other places, but they amounted to nothing until gold was found. Gold drew people from the other side of the earth and gave Australia its population, and once you have attracted a population all other sorts of things are brought with it. Other metals are mined; you have a fertile country taken up as farms and large stock ranches. Australia was really opened up and made of importance by its gold discoveries. That it would not have been important without gold, as it is now, is certain. It is probable that it would not have been of any account at all, especially when we consider the large area of desert land in the heart of Australia. After the best parts were taken up, there was a very barren waste towards the West, mainly waterless desert, in which it was almost at the risk of one's life that anything was done in the way of exploration. Who should explore such a wilderness? Now, the only reason for exploring in out-of-the-way places is gold. If you want to get a difficult bit of country explored all you have to do is to make it known that there is a large supply of gold there. If you want to have the Antarctic Continent opened up and known from rim to rim just make it perfectly clear that there is a gold deposit at the South Pole and the region will be opened up in a very short time. Just so in Australia. Hundreds of miles in from the coast, where there is no water but brackish water, they found rich gold mines, and as a result fine towns are growing up, hundreds of miles from the strip of fertile coast. They have put down enormous water-works and are pumping water hundreds of feet high and hundreds of miles inland to keep the place going. All this was due to gold.

Finally, I supose we may come to South Africa. It is a part of the world that has interested every Briton and every lover of the British Empire very greatly of late years. We are rather dropping out of the habit of talking of South Africa now since Botha is the Premier, and the new colony, I suppose, is well able to look out for itself. South Africa has been a kind of touch-and-go part of the British Empire. Sometimes we have made a tremendous push and acquired a large amount of territory, and then there raged native wars and we got sick of it, and handed things over to somebody else. Then something else happened and we started in again. You know of the half-dozen different policies in South Africa in the last hundred years. There was one thing that was going to make the change in South Africa. That thing was gold. It was not a question of preserving the natives from the cruelty of the Boers. It was not the question of owning a sub-continent. Nobody cared about that. It was gold that settled the question, —the gold of the Transvaal. If it had not been for that it is probable you would have two little states there fighting with the natives, and no one paying any attention to them. Probably the central part would have become a Boer colony. In regard to the Transvaal, why should it be so important? Africa has been looked on as a gold-bearing region for a long time. You have heard of King Solomon's Mines; they may or they may not have been in South Africa. We do know that someone mined gold there hundreds of years ago, and that the present white men and the present natives do not know who they were. They knew enough to get the best part of the gold veins out. The present miners have one advantage over the ancient group of miners, that they have the power of steam for pumping, so that they can work to a lower level.

Gold mining has become of more importance in Rhodesia. Why should Rhodesia be a part of the British Empire? "Because Rhodes willed it," you will say; but why? Because he believed there was gold there. It was this ancient gold field that attracted him, and slowly that gold field has been developed, and is now of considerable importance. The most important gold field in Africa, in the world, at the present time is the Transvaal. And I want to say a word in order to give you an idea of how really unique that region is. Suppose that we had a bit of territory that stretched from here down to Whitby or Port Hope, and we had it divided up into mines, and we allowed a width of about a township or a township and a half, what sort of a country would you think that, to provide the world with one of the most important substances? Out of that little stretch of territory about thirty-five miles long and ten miles wide more gold is produced to-day than is produced in the whole of North America. Now you see what the Transvaal means. In every other part of the world you have gold in very uncertain deposits. In the Transvaal they have gold deposits that seem to have a peculiar facility of holding out. That makes all the difference in the world. Instead of having gold-bearing veins in the Transvaal we have great sheets of rock that contain gold. These are called banquette,—a kind of conglomerate. We have this peculiar type of conglomerate that contains some gold, and that conglomerate is rock, and it dips down with the other rocks, and if you have a square mile of that rock, you can reckon pretty accurately how much gold you have.

The sheets of conglomerate are not thick, perhaps not over a few inches, and yet it is two or three sheets of conglomerate of that sort that make the wonderful resources of the Rand. They had in the beginning a row of out-cropping mines, because these rocks are in the form of a basin. All along the edge where this rock cropped out, the gold was found and mines are worked. It was observed that these mines dipped under and began to flatten out somewhat, and they suspected they would get it at the next row of mines, and so a row of dips were established, and they are beginning to sink shafts four or five thousand feet down without a hint of gold at the surface, and away below the surface they have these sheets, still auriferous, still gold-bearing. The United States is a great gold-producing country,—in Alaska, California, Nevada, North Dakota, etc., there are thousands of square miles of gold-bearing territory—and yet this little patch of country produced a third more gold last year than the great United States. The Transvaal was something that was worth fighting for, and there is no doubt that it was gold that made the whole disturbance in South Africa. The British Empire has been acquiring gold-bearing territory. Great Britain, itself, has very little gold of its own, but it has at present the most important gold-bearing country in the world, with the exception of the United States.

I suppose you have always thought of India as a swarming country where the people lived on a handful of rice a day, but a country without much in the way of metals. In the Madras province there is an important gold field. They produce more than $10,000,000 worth of gold per annum in India, so that India is rather an important gold-producer. New Zealand is not generally considered important, but $6,000,000, or $8,000,000 worth of gold are produced there annually. British Guiana, in South America, produces a million or two of gold. Here and there all over the world Britain has her foothold. Ontario has gold, more or less. Last year it was less, being only about $40,000 worth. British Columbia produced last year $6,000,000. The Klondike still has gold, although the hey-day of the Klondike is done, the better grades are worked out. In practically every part of the British Empire there are gold deposits. It looks as though Britain has laid herself out to acquire gold. The total output of gold for the British Empire, leaving out the smaller places, was $235,324,474. Of this, Rhodesia produced $10,201,327; India, $10,665,674; Canada, $12,000,000; Australia, $82,851,861 ; the Transvaal, $119,605,922. The only other country that we can compare with the British Empire was the United States, which produced $97,155,201. The total gold production of the world amounted to $404,649,685. The British Empire produced $235,000,000, very much more than half. It looks unfair.

There is another side to the thing. The gold of the British Empire does not all go to Great Britain. The Transvaal gold goes elsewhere. Gold has no country; it goes anywhere where people are willing to pay most for it. You know how it has been with the Bank of England lately. The Bank of England itself cannot hold its gold. There is more gold at present in the Bank of France, in the Berlin Bank, in the Austrian Bank, and in the Banks of St. Petersburg, than in the Bank of England. The reason for that is, of course, that in England all sorts of shifts are made not to use the gold, and yet England is the one great country in the world where gold is in constant use. Nevertheless, the total amount of gold in Great Britain is not so very great. Britain controls the gold output of the world, but Great Britain herself does most of her business by cheque, and in other ways that do not require the actual transfer of the coin.

In conclusion, it is worth while to suggest that although gold is the standard of value, there may be changes in that respect. There was a time when silver was the standard of value in England. We use the term "pounds." Why pounds? Not pounds of gold, but pounds of silver. The pound in Great Britain was once a pound of silver. But there is one very serious aspect of the thing, especially to men like myself who have a fixed salary. Although gold is the standard, other things are going up in value of late; that is, you have to pay more to get a given quantity of anything now than you did ten or twenty years ago. The reason for that is the finding of these great gold mines. The gold of the world is steadily increasing, and instead of it showing itself in a depression in the value of gold, it is showing itself in the added price of everything we buy. Gold is falling in value in reality, or the other things are rising in value if you like; it comes to the same thing to the man of fixed income. I think the wonderfully good times of the last few years have been very largely due to the increased amount of gold. The standard everywhere is gold, and the increased amount has given a fillip to business everywhere. If it goes much farther it may have a reverse effect.

EDUCATION AND EMPIRE UNITY.

Address by Professor Stephen B. Leacock, of McGill University, Montreal, before the Empire Club and Toronto Educationists, on March 19th, 1907. Discussion by Dr. E. Clouse, President J. P. Murray, Professor Alfred Baker, Mr. James L. Hughes, and Professor McGillivray, of Glasgow.

Dr. E. Clouse.—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When you asked me to say a few words along the lines of the work of the Empire Club that has led up to our present position and our present and contemplated relations, I was rather disinclined, hoping that the duty might fall to the lot of someone who would do the occasion and the subject greater justice. However, you, sir, and the members of the Executive Committee insisted, and in doing so you have placed me, in at least some respects, in the position of the bridegroom who, upon the occasion of the wedding supper, was unexpectedly called upon to respond to the toast to the bride. With many misgivings and full of the consciousness of his unpreparedness to speak, he arose and, as he did so, laid his hand unconsciously on the shoulder of his bride and exclaimed, "Ladies and Gentlemen, this thing has been forced upon me."

Mr. President, I will promise not to force very much upon you to-night for in common with all of you, I, too, am anxious for the time to come when we may listen to the distinguished speaker who is here to-night. I think we may, however, in contemplating the subject, reasonably come to the conclusion that a people will not always remain half Colonial and half Imperial, and this fact, perhaps, has brought closely to the mind of many the question as to what will be the ultimate destiny of Canada. We think that nearly all Canadians are Imperialists, but it is another question to fully realize what we know and to organize so that we may develop and strengthen Imperial principles and Imperial sentiments. These thoughts some few years ago led to the formation of the Empire Club which has been working along such lines with an increasing measure of success from year to year.

During the past year it occurred to some of us that to lay the deepest foundation and to obtain the most permanent results it would be necessary to bring this matter more closely to the attention of the rising generation and, in order to do that, we felt there was no class of people in the country who could be so successful in aiding us as the educationists; and we felt that their training and their experience and the position they held, the relations they hold with the pupils, would enable them to do this most easily. We felt that a profession that has held such names as Arnold and Farrar and others, would in the future give names and individuals who would be a further inspiration along patriotic lines, and especially along the line of Imperialism. So we decided to ask the educationists of the City at first, and probably the educationists of the whole Dominion later on, to take a more active interest—we have no doubt they feel a deep interest along the lines to which I am referring—if possible, in giving a trend to the young minds in the direction in which we are trying to do something ourselves.

The development of Imperial principles and the broadening and deepening of Imperial sentiment may be accomplished in various ways; through trade relations and through political relations, from the standpoint of the statesman and the politician; but it may be perhaps most successfully effected through the educationists. For, after all, the educationists wield a greater influence upon the future destiny of a nation, probably, than do the statesmen and politicians of the day, for it is they who train the mind and give the trend to it which will reflect in future years these views, these principles, and give a basis to the work which is to be done by the statesmen and the politicians. With regard to education, I may say that one element which occurs to me as being most practical and of most use is that of post-graduate work. We often see the youth of our country going abroad to pursue their studies, and most frequently they go over to the neighbouring republic or to Germany.

This we think is to be deplored; we can scarcely expect that sentiment alone will guide them in these things, but in practical results we believe that it might be to their advantage if a current could set in that would carry more of them to the universities and educational institutions of the Old Land. We realize that the trend of educational affairs in our own country has been given largely by such men as Harris and Phillips and McCaul and Strachan and others who came from the universities of the Old Land and who brought with them British ideals and conception of things. Then, again, in the practical results outside of Imperialistic considerations, we think it would be an advantage to promote this line of development. True, the institutions of the United States, many of them, and especially the higher ones, are very excellent. In the elements of a materialistic character, probably, they are equal to almost any other country, but there is more to be considered than that. It is a sort of levelling process that occurs there; it gives a practical training, in some ways, that enables the student to develop into a successful money-getter, but it seems to lack in some other ways elements which we would like to see, and which we believe the systems in the Old Country possess. After all it is the moral element that is of the most importance, of more importance than the truly materialistic. We believe that in a training where the moral fibre and moral tone are sacrificed the best results are not obtained, no matter how successful the individual may be in a commercial way.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will not take up time any further than to say that we hope that this meeting, which will probably be an historic one, if what we expect is attained—that it prove the beginning of closer relations and more intimate and energetic effort upon the part of the educationists of the country and those who may be within the membership of the Empire Clubs, in the way of developing Imperial principles and sentiments—and may finally help in not only making us all Imperialists, but teaching us the reason why we are Imperialists and rendering us satisfied with our choice and the result.

The President (Mr. J. P. Murray): Now, gentlemen, if the suggestion thrown out by Dr. Clouse is followed and you get anything like the experience that some of us have had in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, you will undoubtedly find that the best parts of your lives are yet to come, from the enjoyment you will derive from mutual association. In the early history of the Manufacturers' organization one manufacturer, who might live across the road from another one, would not even recognize him on the street. By and by they came together and they found they were not such bad fellows after all, and now—why, you cannot get a thin sheet of tissue paper in between them, they are so thick. The result is that the industries of the country are developing in strides that would not have been thought possible ten years ago. As education is the most important thing that we have to take into consideration, because we cannot have business men unless we have them educated, I should certainly commend Dr. Clouse's suggestion for the educationists to get together just as often as they can, and we will then be only too glad on all occasions to have them meet with the Empire Club. Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce to you to-night Professor Leacock, of McGill University. He is well known in Toronto, and those of you who know him, know him as a man of good sense. He married a Toronto girl. And to show you that he is a bit of a diplomat and did not want to hurt Hamilton's feelings, I may say he married a girl called Hamilton! Without any further introduction I present Professor Leacock.

PROFESSOR STEPHEN B. LEACOCK.

Mr. President, members and guests of the Empire Club: I am to speak to-night on the subject of "Empire and Education." I wish to talk about two things: about the present position of the Empire and what one may call the Imperial movement, and about the part which those of us who are interested in education are called upon to play in that movement. When I received the very courteous invitation of your Club to address you, I set to work preparing the speech that I should give. I do not deal in impromptu speeches, and have but little belief in the impassioned orator who relies upon the stimulus of the moment; but I soon found that it would be better and wiser, and that, perhaps, I could more truly express my thought, if I were to write down what I meant, and what I meant to convey to you, upon the first part of this most important subject. If, then, you will pardon my reading a part of my remarks, I will read to you what I have to say about the present position of the Empire in the form of a pamphlet which I have before me and the incentive to write which was given by the meeting of this Club. This I hope shortly to publish, and I intend to send it East and West as far as the Imperial post can carry it and, perhaps, in some humble way and to a humble extent, it may serve to influence opinion in the Empire.

In it I deal especially with the question of the coming Conference at London. I need hardly remind you that that Conference is the fourth of gatherings that have been held in London with the purpose of discussing the general relations of the different parts of the Empire, and it has been the hope of many persons that out of those Conferences there might be developed something that should constitute a new and a growing Imperial authority, and there are those among us, therefore, who would not wish to see any step taken backwards, who would not wish to see anything that might tend to weaken the progressive growth of the Imperial Conferences. We, therefore, hear with alarm certain rumours that are now abroad among us, and to which I need not refer specifically, as to what the intentions of our Canadian Government are in regard to this coming Imperial gathering. May I, then, as the first part of what I have to say, as the somewhat over-balanced text to a very short sermon that I propose to deliver after it, read a part of my " Greater Canada " to you?

Now, in this month of April, when the ice is leaving our rivers, the ministers of Canada take ship for this the fourth Colonial Conference at London. What do they go to do? Nay, rather what shall we bid them do? We—the six million people of Canada, unvoiced, untaxed, in the Empire, unheeded in the councils of the world—we, the six million colonials sprawling our over-suckled infancy across a continent—what shall be our message to the motherland? Shall we still whine of our poverty, still draw imaginary pictures of our thin herds shivering in the cold blasts of the North, their shepherds huddled for shelter in the log cabins of Montreal and Toronto? Shall we still beg the good people of England to bear yet a little longer, for the poor peasants of their colony, the burden and heat of the day? Shall our ministers rehearse this wornout fiction of our " acres of snow," and so sail home again, still untaxed, to the smug approval of the oblique politicians of Ottawa? Or, shall we say to the people of England: " The time has come; we know and realize our country. We will be your colony no longer. Make us one with you in an Empire, Permanent and Indivisible."

This last alternative means what is commonly called Imperialism. It means a united system of defence, an Imperial navy for whose support somehow or other the whole Empire shall properly contribute, and with it an Imperial authority in whose power we all may share. To many people in Canada this Imperialism is a tainted word. It is too much associated with a truckling subservience to English people and English ideas and the silly swagger of the hop-o'-my-thumb junior officer. But there is and must be for the true future of our country, a higher and more real Imperialism than this —the Imperialism of the plain man at the plough and the clerk in the counting house, the Imperialism of any decent citizen that demands for this country its proper place in the councils of the Empire and in the destiny of the world. In this sense, Imperialism means but the realization of a Greater Canada, the recognition of a wider citizenship.

I, that write these lines am an Imperialist because I will not be a Colonial. This Colonial status is a worn-out, by-gone thing. The sense and feeling of it has become harmful to us. It limits the ideas and circumscribes the patriotism of our people. It impairs the mental vigour and narrows the outlook of those that are reared and educated in our midst. The English boy reads of England's history and its glories as his own; it is his navy that fought at Camperdown and Trafalgar; his people that have held fast their twenty miles of sea eight hundred years against a continent. He learns at his fireside and at his school, among his elders and his contemporaries, to regard all this as part of himself; something that he, as a fighting man, may one day uphold, something for which as a plain citizen he shall every day gladly pay, something for which in any capacity it may be one day his high privilege to die. How little of this in Canada! Our paltry policy teaches the Canadian boy to detach himself from the England of the past, to forget that Camperdown and Copenhagen and the Nile are ours as much as theirs, that this navy of the Empire is ours, too; ours in its history of the past, ours in its safeguard of the present.

If this be our policy and our plan, let us complete our teaching to our children. Let us inscribe it upon the walls of our schools, let us write it in brass upon our temples, that for the navy which made us and which defends us, we pay not a single penny, we spare not a single man. Let us add to it, also, that the lesson may bear fruit, this "shelter theory" of Canada, now rampant in our day; that Canada by some reason of its remoteness from European sin and its proximity to American republicanism, is sheltered from that flail of war with which God tribulates the other peoples of the world.

Sheltered by the Monroe Doctrine, and by President Roosevelt and his battleships; sheltered, I know not how, but sheltered somehow so that we may forget the lean, eager patriotism and sacrifice of a people bred for war, and ply in peace the little craft of gain and greed. So grows and has grown the Canadian boy in his colonial status, dissociated from the history of the world, cut off from the larger patriotism, colourless in his ideas. So grows he till in some sly way his mind opens to the fence-rail politics of his countryside, with its bribed elections and its crooked votes—not patriotism this, but "politics," maple-leaf politics, by which money may be made and places and profit fall in a golden shower.

Some time ago Theodore Roosevelt, writing with the pardonable irresponsibility of a Police Commissioner of New York, and not as President of the United States, said of us here in Canada, that the American feels towards the Canadian the good-natured condescension that is felt by the free-born man for the man that is not free. Only recently one of the most widely circulated of American magazines, talking in the same vein, spoke of us Canadians as a "subject people." These are, of course, the statements of extravagance and ignorance; but it is true, none the less, that the time has come to be done with this *colonial* business, done with it once and forever. We cannot in Canada continue as we are. We must become something greater or something infinitely less. We can no longer be an appanage and outlying portion of something else. Canada, as a *colony,* was right enough in the good old days of Governor Simcoe, when your emigrant officer sat among the pine stumps of his Canadian clearing and reared his children in the fear of God and in the love of England—right enough then, wrong enough and destructive enough now. We cannot continue as we are. In the history of every nation, as of every man, there is no such thing as standing still. There is no pause upon the path of progress. There is no stagnation but the hush of death.

And for this progress, this forward movement, what is there first to do? How first unravel this vexed skein of our colonial and imperial relations? This, first of all. We must realize, and the people of England must realize, the inevitable greatness of Canada. This is not a vainglorious boast. This is not rhodomontade. It is simple fact. Here stand we, six million people, heirs to the greatest legacy in the history of mankind, owners of half a continent, trustees, under God Almighty, for the fertile soltitudes of the West. A little people, few in numbers, say you? Ah, truly such a little people! Few as the people of the Greeks that blocked the mountain gates of Europe to the march of Asia, few as the men of Rome that built a power to dominate the world, nay, scarce more numerous than they in England whose beacons flamed along the cliffs a warning to the heavy galleons of Spain. Aye, such a little people, but growing, growing, growing, with a march that shall make us ten millions to-morrow, twenty millions in our children's time and a hundred millions yet ere the century runs out. What say you to Fort Garry, a stockaded fort in your father's day, with its hundred thousand of to-day and its half a million souls of the to-morrow? What think you, little River Thames, of our great Ottawa that flings its foam eight hundred miles? What does it mean when science has moved us a little further yet, and the wheel of the world's work turns with electric force? What sort of asset do you think then our melting snow and the roaring river-flood of our Canadian spring shall be to us? What say you, little puffing steam-fed industry of England, to the industry of coming Canada? Think you, you can heave your coal hard enough, sweating and grunting with your shovel to keep pace with the snow-fed cataracts of the north? Or look, were it but for double conviction, at the sheer extent and size of us. Throw aside, if you will, the vast districts of the frozen north; confiscate, if you like, Ungava, still snow-covered and unknown, and let us talk of the Canada that we know, south of the sixteenth parallel, south of your Shetland Islands, south of the Russian Petersburg and reaching southward thence to where the peach groves of Niagara bloom in the latitude of Northern Spain. And of all this take only our two new provinces, twin giants of the future, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Three decades ago this was the great lone land, the frozen west, with its herds of bison and its Indian tepees, known to you only in the pictured desolation of its unending snow; now crossed and inter-crossed with railways, settled 400 miles from the American frontier, and sending north and south the packets of its daily papers from its two provincial capitals. And of this country, fertile as the corn plains of Hungary, and the crowded flats of Belgium, do you know the size? It is this. Put together the whole German Empire, the republic of France and your England and Scotland, and you shall find place for them in our two new provinces. Or take together across the boundary from us, the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut—all the New England States—and with them all the Middle States of the North—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—till you have marked a space upon the map from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to the Lakes—all these you shall put into our two new provinces and still find place for England and for Scotland in their boundaries.

This, then, for the size and richness of our country. Would that the soul and spirit of its people were commensurate with its greatness. For here as yet we fail. Our politics, our public life and thought, rise not to the level of our opportunity. The mud-bespattered politicians of the trade, the party men and party managers, give us in place of patriotic statecraft the sordid traffic of a tolerated jobbery. For bread, a stone. Harsh is the cackle of the little turkey-cocks of Ottawa, fighting the while as they feather their mean nest of sticks and mud, high on their river bluff. Loud sings the little Man of the Province, crying his petty Gospel of Provincial Rights, grudging the gift of power, till the cry spreads and town hates town and every hamlet of the countryside shouts for its share of plunder and of pelf. This is the tenor of our politics, carrying as its undertone the voice of the black-robed sectary, with narrow face and shifting eyes, snarling still with the bigotry of a by-gone day. This is the spirit that we must purge. This is the demon we must exorcise; this the disease, the cankerworm of corruption, bred in the indolent security of peace, that must be burned from us in the pure fire of an Imperial patriotism that is no theory but a passion. This is our need, our supreme need of the Empire—not for its ships and guns, but for the greatness of it, aye, for the very danger of it.

Of our spirit, then, it is not well. Nor is it well with the spirit of those in England in their thoughts of us. Jangling are they these twenty years over little Ireland that makes and unmakes ministries, and never a thought for Canada; jangling now over their Pantaloon Suffragettes and their Swaddled Bishops, wondering whether they shall still represent their self-willed Lords nose for nose in the councils of the Empire, or whether they may venture now to scale them down, putting one nose for ten. One or ten, what does it matter, so there is never a voice to speak for Canada? Can they not see, these people of England, that the Supreme English Question now is the question of Canada? That this Conference of the year of grace, 1907, might, if it would, make for us the future of the Empire? Or will they still regard us, poor, outlying, sheltered people of Canada, as something alien and apart, sending us ever of their youngest and silliest to prate in easy arrogance of "home," earning the livelihood their Island cannot give, still snapping at the hand that feeds them?

And what, then, can this Colonial Conference effect, after all, it is asked? Granting, for argument's sake, the spirit of the people that might move it, our unwillingness to pay, their willingness to give us place and power, what can be done? Hard, indeed, is the question. Hard even to the Ready Man in the Street with his glib solution of difficulties; harder still to the thoughtful; hardest of all to those who will not think. For if we pay for this our navy, that even now defends us, and yet speak not in the councils at Westminster, then that is Taxation without Representation; straightway the soul of the Anglo-Saxon stands aghast; the grim death-head of King John grins in the grave, while the stout ghost of old Ben Franklin hovers again upon our frontier holding in its hand the proffer of independence. But if you admit us to your councils, what then? Ah, then indeed an awful thing befalls! Nothing less than the remaking of your constitution, with a patching and a re-building of it, till the nature-growth of precedent and custom is shaped in the clumsy artifice of clause and schedule, powers and prohibitions, measured and marked off with the yard-stick of the *ultra-vires* attorney. This surely is worse than ever. This, perhaps, you might have done, save for the bare turn of a majority, for Irksome Ireland. But for Uncomplaining Canada, not so.

So there we stand, we and you, pitched fast upon the horns of a dilemma. You cannot tax us, since you will not represent us. We cannot be represented because we will not be taxed. So stand we stock-still, like the donkey in the philosophic fable, balanced between two bales of hay, nibbling neither right nor left. So are we like to stand, till some of us, some of you and us, shall smite the poor donkey of our joint stupidity there where it most profits that a donkey shall be smitten, and bid it move!

Yet is the difficulty perhaps not impossible of solution. The thing to be achieved is there. The task is yours to solve, men of the council table. Find us a way whereby the burden and the power shall fall on all alike; a way whereby, taxed, we shall still be free men, free of the Imperial citizenship, and your historic constitution unshattered in the process. Is it, then, so difficult? We come of a race that has solved much, has so often achieved the impossible. Look back a little in the ages to where ragged Democracy howls around the throne of defiant Kingship. This is a problem that we have solved, joining the dignity of Kingship with the power of Democracy; this, too, by the simplest of political necromancy, the trick of which we now expound in our schools, as the very alphabet of political wisdom. Or look back to where the scaffolds of a bigot nation run with blood for the sake of rival creeds that know not yet the simple code of toleration, to be framed now in an easy statute with an artful stroke of a pen. Have we done all this and shall we balk at this poor colonial question? At it, then, like men, shrewd representatives of Ottawa and of Westminster, trained in the wisdom of the ages. Listen not to those who would block the way with a *non possumus* on this side, a *non volumus* on that. Find us a way, show us a plan, a mere beginning if you will, a widow's mite of contribution, a mere whispering of representation, but something that shall trace for us the future path of Empire.

Nor is guidance altogether lacking in the task. For at least the signs of the times are written large as to what the destiny of Canada shall not be. Not as it is—not on this colonial footing—can it indefinitely last. There are those who tell us that it is best to leave well enough alone, to wait for the slow growth, the evolution of things. For herein lies the darling thought of the wisdom of the nineteenth century, in the same evolution, this ready-made explanation of all things; hauled over the researches of the botanist to meet the lack of thought of the philosopher. Whatever is, is; whatever will be, will be—so runs its silly creed. Therefore let everything be, that is; and all that shall be, shall be. This is but the wisdom of the fool wise after the fact. For the solution of our vexed colonial problem this profits nothing. We cannot sit passive to watch our growth. Good or bad, straight or crooked, we must make our fate.

Nor is it even possible or desirable that we in Canada can form an independent country. The little cry that here and there goes up among us is but the symptom of an aspiring discontent, that will not let our people longer be colonials. 'Tis but a cry forced out by what a wise man has called the growing pains of a nation's progress. Independent, we could not survive a decade. Those of us who know our country realize that beneath its surface smoulder still the embers of racial feud and of religious bitterness. Twice in our generation has the sudden alarm of conflict broken upon the quiet of our prosperity with the sound of a fire-bell in the night. Not thus our path. Let us compose the feud and still the strife of races, not in the artificial partnership of Independent Canada, but in the joint greatness of a common destiny.

Nor does our future lie in Union with those that dwell to the Southward. The day of annexation to the United States is past. Our future lies elsewhere. Be it said without concealment and without bitterness. They have chosen their lot; we have chosen ours. Let us go our separate ways in peace. Let them still keep their perennial Independence Day, with its fulminating fireworks and its Yankee Doodle. We keep our Magna Charta and our rough-and-ready Rule Britannia, shouting as lustily as they! The propaganda of Annexation is dead. Citizens we want, indeed, but not the prophets of an alien gospel. To you who come across our western border we can offer a land fatter than your Kansas, a government better than Montana, a climate kinder than your Dakota. Take it, Good Sir, if you will; but if, in taking it, you still raise your little croak of annexation, then up with you by the belt and out with you, breeches first, through the air, to the land of your origin! This in all friendliness.

Not Independence, then, not Annexation, not Stagnation; nor yet that doctrine of a little Canada that some conceive—half in, half out of the Empire, with a mimic navy of its own; a pretty navy this—poor two-penny collection, frolicking on its little way strictly within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a sort of silly adjunct to the navy of the Empire, semi-detached, the better to be smashed at will. As well a Navy of the Province, or the Parish, home-made for use at home, docked every Saturday in Lake Nipigon! Yet this you say, you of the Provincial Rights, you Little Canada Man, is all we can afford!—we that have raised our public charge from forty up to eighty millions odd, within the ten years past, and scarce have felt the added strain of it. Nay, on the question of the cost, good gentlemen of the council, spare it not. Measure not the price. It is not a commercial benefit we buy. We are buying back our honour as Imperial citizens. For, look you, this protection of our lives and coast, this safeguard from the scourge of war, we have it now as much as you of England; you from the hard-earned money that you pay, we as the peasant pensioners of your Imperial bounty. Thus stands the case. Thus stands the question of the future of Canada. Find for us something other than mere colonial stagnation, something sounder than independence, nobler than annexation, greater in purpose than a Little Canada. Build us a plan, that shall make us, in hope at least, an Empire Permanent and Indivisible.

That, gentlemen, is my political credo; there stands my article of faith. I do not care about the details of it, but I hope that that may be, sooner or later—I mean the sentimentality that inspires it—the fundamental article of faith of every man within the Dominion. What I wish to do now is to enlarge somewhat the thoughts I have presented to you and state in what way those of us concerned in education may best advance them; for I am one of those who believe that there is need now for an Imperial movement in this country. I believe the little Shibboleths of our political parties have worn themselves out and we must get behind them a new and stronger motive power, something that shall lift us out to a higher standing and higher inspiration in politics than we enjoy at present. If there is anything to be done at this Colonial Conference, we, the people of Canada, must get behind and shove, and of all people who should most advance the cause of Imperial Union, in whatever way we may complete it, I think those of us who are interested in education ought to be the most concerned. It is not usual to regard us, gentlemen, as leaders in political thought and leaders in political movement; we are generally regarded as a somewhat harmless and irresponsible class. Indeed we enjoy a sort of special license on account of our irresponsibility. I have found myself at gatherings similar to this prompted to say things which otherwise might have sounded recklessly irresponsible, merely on the ground that as a University Professor, I could not hope to understand what I was talking about. (Laughter.)

Now, gentlemen, I am willing to admit for the humble class to which I belong that we know nothing of business. Our salaries prove it. But what I claim is, that this question of the Empire is not mere business, it is one of those things into which the *tertium quid* of idealism and unmeasurable sentiment must and will intrude itself, and here we, of education, have a right to say to the business world: "This is our question as much as yours." There has been too great a tendency in this community and the one to the South of us to establish the false analogy between business and politics and to consider that those who are not in active business have a right to abstain from everything in the light of political faith and political advancement. I think, gentlemen, this has been, and continues to be, a great national mistake, for when you think of it, as Dr. Clouse has said to us, we, the educational people, are perhaps those whose influence is, or at any rate might be, greatest in the country. It has been said that the hand that rocked the cradle rules the world. I think we might revise that and make it read: "The hand that rules the blackboard rocks the world," for it is our privilege to deal with the youth of the country; to inspire in them those ideas which afterwards will bear fruit; to implant in them the morality of the school which shall some day become the morality of those in public places. It has been the great fault of our American communities, both here and in the United States, that we have never yet attained a sufficiently high standard of public morality. Each and every one of us has to but search his conscience to acknowledge the taunt that we look with somewhat lenient and indulgent eye on the extravagant use of public money or the minor jobbery which we think is a necessary part of politics; and I think there is no place where this corruption might better be attacked at its source than in the lives of our schools, and in creating in those whom we touch a high standard of private and school morality that shall presently become the basis of their public morals.

It is a commonplace remark to draw attention to the relatively higher standard prevalent in England. I think, gentlemen, that may be very largely attributed to the training that is given in the English Public School; and to the code of honour, sometimes an artificial and over-drastic code, it seems to me. We see the honour that is instilled into the English boy from his very youth up. If there is to be, then, a successful Imperial movement in Canada, it is we, the teachers of the country, who ought to take our stand. For this reason a successful Imperialism must not be a creed of blood and conquest. Imperialism must not be militarism, need not be indeed, if it be Imperialism. It ought to aspire to national safety, national honour, and the preservation of our historic national ideas, but it should carry behind it a united sentiment and united force that would prove the best and finest guarantee of peace. The relative peace England has enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century has rested mainly, as everybody knows, on the predominance of its great navy, and as you look back over those hundred years you realize the expenditure made on the British Navy was an expenditure not in the interests of war, but an expenditure in the interests of peace and civilization. If then, gentlemen, in our educational machinery we are to pursue this national ideal, how best may we set about it? How shall our system be moulded to the developments we look for in it, if it is to form really part of a national and imperial life?

The question of our universities, for instance, in regard to them I would say this, that we must face the fact that in the modern world a university is not a cloister, that a university must be prepared to be an acting part of the driving machinery of civilization. I do not mean here to advance those cheap and easy ideas which would make a university a mere part of politics, something in which places are distributed according to the favour of a party, and which acts as a sort of blastfurnace for heating up the hot air of the platform oratory; nor do I mean in any way to decry the older ideals of university culture and university education upon which so many of us have been bred. Personally, I consider the sterner studies of the classics and the hard discipline of mathematics should be the ineradicable basis of education; but when a university should take its place in the national life, it should recognize that it is an institution whose doors should not be shut to the outside world, and whose class-rooms, programmes, and public lectures all must form a living and moving part of a national system. At the universities the public men of our country ought to find an audience ever ready to listen to them, an audience before which they may cast aside the artificial cloak of their party adhesion, and appear as men of brains talking to men of brains, and avoid the poor paltry pretences of agreement that make up party government. And, more necessary than all is it that between our two great universities there ought to be no jealousy; we ought to be co-operating parts of one national Canadian system of education, and we ought, as far as possible to give and take towards one another, be less ready to suspect one another's motives than we are and more eager to move together in co-operation than we have been in the past.

I am not afraid, on account of the irresponsibility that I say I enjoy, to say rough things, and speaking in Ontario I would say that the besetting sin of this Province is the assertion of Provincial rights to which I have referred. We are aware, those of us who live in the other parts of Canada, that you are the largest Province, I mean the largest in population and power, and that you have, perhaps, the greatest natural advantages and we are quite aware that in many ways the other parts of Canada cannot compete with you; but we sometimes feel that this Province of Ontario—I am not thinking only of education, but in all respects—obtrudes somewhat too briskly and cruelly against the other Provinces its superior advantages; pushing westward against little Manitoba that would like to extend its boundaries, and sometimes pushing eastward against poor old French Canada to which at present I belong. It is shared in other Provinces and on the racial side shared, too, by Quebec, but it is a fault that must be driven out of our education. We ought to feel in our great universities that we belong in a higher sense to only one university, to a system of Canadian education in which we all are participating; and if the task of the university is great in this Imperialism so is the task of the school greater, for at the school every citizen in his youth attends, every citizen is for several years of his life profoundly under the influence of the ideas and the discipline of his school.

All over the world the controversy is going on as to how far we may rightly introduce into our schools a programme of definite religious education. The same question is being fought out in various parts of Canada, in the French Republic, and in England; and we have here a doubtful point. Many of us are inclined to think that that side of education is not the proper province of the school; others, taking the contrary view, would look upon that as the very basis of education itself; but there is a point upon which we all might agree, if we would only confess it to ourselves, and that is that the school ought to be the training ground of citizenship—that the programme of the school, its teaching of history, its teaching of geography, and the days which it celebrates, and the routine and life of the school should be levelled towards recognition of the fact that the school is the training ground of the future men and citizens of the nation. There is, gentlemen, beyond the school and the university the higher school of the world into which we subsequently enter. There each of us are pupils; there from day to day each of us must learn his little task; there each of us from day to day must take his chastisement, and there sooner or later the record marks of each one of us shall be added up to the final total. We have to think, then, of the influence that can be brought to bear in the general world about us by the propagation of this Imperial ideal, for there is nothing more important than that we should have at the basis of our young life some settled agreement as to our national aspirations and ideals.

There is too largely a tendency now to throw all that aside, and consider that government is the problem that we have solved, that we have got our ready-made Democracy with its machinery and its votes and its ballot box, and, therefore, we can let it operate in peace and stand aside from it. It is a common remark of perhaps many of us to say: "I take no interest in politics." But I tell you that the man or the citizen who says that condemns out of his own mouth either himself or his politics. For there is something wrong in the country if the individual, intelligent citizens of it say that they take no interest in politics. Democracy cannot work of itself. It is almost pathetic to look back at the high hopes with which its beginning was ushered in and to see now how very largely they have been disappointed and shattered. In the time of our grandfathers some of the most sanguine and idealistic people in the world thought that nothing was needed but a ready-made legislature and its ballot box and its popular government, and straightway the fate of man would be permanently ameliorated. It seemed that the millennium could be ushered in upon the tail of a paper constitution. Gentlemen, we have had about one hundred years of democratic government on this side of the water and the other and we have come to realize that democratic government, after all, is but a form of government, and that it is useless and idle unless it can have behind it the high spirit and the untiring vigilance that shall watch over its application.

We, then, in this country, and in every other country, know that good government and untiring vigilance are necessary, and at the basis we need a national conception, a feeling of what we are, such as other great countries have; what we mean to be, what we recognize ourselves to be. Let us settle with ourselves in Canada as to what our country is going to be, let us find what are the future aspirations we can teach to those who come after us. For that reason, I think, this Conference of 1907 is of such absolute and supreme importance. I realize that those Ministers who are going from Canada may sway the current of our destiny either one way or the other. We all know that on account of our predominant position among the Colonies of the Empire, and on account of the historic self-effacement the English have adopted, it is Canada that can, if it likes, play the trump card in the game before it. As Canada votes, so will the others vote. If we vote for something like organic union, the others will only too gladly follow our lead. Therefore I think this and other bodies in Canada ought to unite in an effort to force the Canadian people into a recognition of the supreme importance of the situation and put it before our Ministers, that they must somehow find a way to make us one, an Empire Permanent and Indivisible.

Professor Alfred Baker: When told just before coming into the room that I was to have the privilege of either moving or seconding a vote of thanks, I confess to having thought that I would be able to make up my mind as to what I should say during the continuance of Professor Leacock's address. When I say that I had no opportunity, you will know what I mean. It is seldom that I, and I take the liberty of saying that it is seldom that you, have had the privilege of listening after dinner to so fine a piece of literature as that which we have had from Professor Leacock. With its incisive thought, and its epigrammatic expression, it is a matter of very great delight to me and to you to know that it is to be published in pamphlet form, and that we will be able, possibly, to commit some of those phrases to memory and, perhaps, before an audience that has not heard them before we shall be able to get them off as our own! I was very much pleased to find that at points Professor Leacock's views were in accord with our own. We are always disposed to worship the rising sun. With reference to the function that a university should play in moulding national sentiment, for example, I have always had the view, and have never hesitated to declare it in public, that a great university should be a great propaganda of national feeling and national sentiment, and to me that means a propaganda of Imperial sentiment. Professor Leacock referred to that. He referred, too, to the disappointment that we have in purely democratic institutions. It is Pope who says:

> " For forms of government let fools contest;
> That which is best administered is best."

I think that we have come to think that after all government depends largely upon the honesty and zeal and far-sightedness of those who are administering it, and at the present time I do not think that we are clearly of the opinion that the United States, which at one time was regarded as a pure democracy, is the best administered country in the world. I do not think that Canada, which is an ideal democracy also, is the best administered country in the world, nor do I think that many of you do. In one other matter I may say I found myself in accord with Professor Leacock. He said that Imperialism should not represent militarism. I think that if our Imperialism is to succeed it must be of such a character as to commend itself to men beyond the pale of the Empire, that is to say, to the world at large. Now, with that view I think that it should stand for toleration, toleration of creed, of language, and of race; and I think that, secondly, it should represent to the world an assemblage of nations which should be the prototype or the precursor of that union of nations which is to form a sort of universal brotherhood. Now, it is only by keeping before us great principles like these and trying to live up to them, and not by representing our Imperialism as something which is to down the other nations, but something for which all humanity can shout; it is by proclaiming and preaching and talking an Imperialism such as that, that we are likely to make our mission successful.

I think that with reference to that first matter, toleration, it is a matter of congratulation to us that the people at the core of the Empire, the English people, are people of singular toleration. It springs probably from their love for fair play. I myself have no convictions as to the gain of complete homogeneity. Did you ever think that if complete homogeneity existed in the physical universe it would mean the cessation of all motion and the cessation of all life? Nature, in developing her methods of evolution, is protesting against and is struggling against homogeneity. Now, it is a fortunate thing for us that we have our French-Canadian fellow-citizens, and that we have to live with them, we have to administer with them, we have to understand them. It is a lucky thing for them that we are Protestants and Roman Catholics living side by side; that we may have an opportunity of seeing the good qualities in each. It is a lucky thing for the people in South Africa that they have Boers and Britons, that they have, in union with one another, to work out the salvation of that vast country. It is a lucky thing in India, which I think I may safely claim is the best administered country in Asia—and you say that is not saying much; but it is a difficult thing to administer a country in Asia—it is a fortunate thing that the Hindoo has an opportunity of seeing the British administer his affairs, and living under the ægis of the Pax Britannica; and I hope, on the other hand, the British there and the British elsewhere will come to see that gradually the governed must take part in the government.

With reference also to that other notion to which I referred, that is, that we should preach the Empire as a union of nations which is to be the precursor or the prototype of that eventual union of nations in which all will form a sort of universal brotherhood, I may say that the idea of Patria, the idea of Nation, is a notion of gradual growth, but it has developed and it is developing now. We are just, I think, on the verge of a fresh view in reference to it, and I think it is this. Go back and take the family, the tribe, the petty principality, the little kingdom; it develops into the Heptarchy, and each Englishman begins to see, slowly, of course, but yet gradually—perhaps it takes centuries—he begins to see that every other Englishman is his fellow-countryman. Then the idea travels, and takes in the British Isles, and the idea takes wings and crosses the ocean and goes to the most remote part of the earth, and we in Canada feel that our compatriots are not merely these people in Ontario, but our fellow-citizens in Quebec, we feel that we are the fellow-countrymen of the Boers of Africa and the Australians and the New Zealanders, and the Hindoos also, and it is part of the development of that idea, and the one that I previously referred to, that we stand upon an Imperialism that we can safely commend and defend, and that will commend itself to the rest of the world. I have very great pleasure in moving that the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Professor Leacock for his extremely interesting and scholarly and telling address.

Mr. James L. Hughes: Surely no man ever had a lighter task than I. The address commended itself so fully to you that it does not need any endorsation from me or any argument to prove that we ought to thank Professor Leacock. I assure him that when it is published we shall see that in every school in Toronto there is a copy of it, that it may be read by our teachers who may give to our pupils the great suggestions he has given. Only two things I thought in the whole splendid address did not commend themselves to me. I am not going to go behind those gentlemen at Ottawa; he said we would have to get behind them and push. I think our place is in front of them; we ought to get ahead of them and guide them and lead them in the right direction. (Applause.) That is really what this meeting was organized for to-night, that we should find out by coming together, teachers and business men, men from other provinces and men of this province, Roman Catholics and Protestants, that we should come together and find out just exactly what we, as the educational men of this country, should teach the young people, and when we have decided that, the politicians will have to get behind us and hustle if they are going to keep up with us. That is the theory. Roosevelt said when he was parting from those splendid fellows who fought with him down in Cuba, and they had praised him for his great bravery in leading them up the hill to fight: "I didn't deserve any credit for that, I had to run like —— to keep out of your way" Part of that language you may not understand, but it meant they were coming so fast he had to rush to get up the hill before them. We must make it so for the politicians, that is what we are here for.

I don't believe, either, that the action of our Canadian representatives this year, even if they don't live up to what we believe they ought to, will stem the tide or that if they give an adverse decision, they are going to make it a final decision. No, there are coming centuries and there are coming men, and women, too, and we are not going to believe that any body of people to-day shall be able to prevent the unity of this great nation. We believe, those of us who have thought of it a little while, that Professor Baker's final thought is the true one, that the Anglo-Saxon race represents the highest ideal of moral power that we are conscious of or capable of understanding now—the great ideal of unity. As the nation came together, as he says, from the little parts and then the Heptarchy and they came into the one England, and then the other parts of the Empire, and then we had our own Dominion in the same way, scattered provinces brought together by Confederation, and the same movement in Australia, it is simply a coming together of the people, a unity because the revelation of the Divine is coming more nearly to us. And so in the churches I remember the time when the Presbyterian ministers, different bodies of them, would scarcely speak as they met on the street; and so with the Methodists; I remember distinctly when they wouldn't preach in one another's churches in this country of ours. The Presbyterians came together, and had their meeting in this great city. We remember, all of us, when the Methodist body came together and unified. That is the great central element of our time, the great evolutionary thought of our time, and believing that, and representing the great ideal, as the Anglo-Saxon race does, the British Empire will be the next great unity. I believe it will go beyond that of the Anglo-Saxon unity to the unity of the race. Most of us won't live to see that; I am going to try to if I can. However, we believe it is coming, and so laying down that great fundamental principle, with faith in God, and faith in our power, and faith in the human race, and the development of the race, we as teachers ought to feel that we have a glorious privilege in giving out this great fundamental principle to the young people, and that is what President Murray and Dr. Clouse and others of the Empire Club meant by bringing you here to-night who represent the teaching profession.

I hope from this meeting will go forth the clear ideal that we are to come together in the future, that we teachers are not to keep by ourselves, as we have done so much in the past, and that the business men of the city are not to keep by themselves, and the working people by themselves, but that we should get a great unity of all the classes; and I am sure it will do us good as teachers to meet men of the type of the President. This meeting is needed in Toronto. For 30 odd years we have been trying to develop this sentiment in Toronto schools with all the energy that we can. We make a flag out of the constituent crosses every year, and I wish that we had something more distinctively Canadian to add to that; we will have it probably by and by. We make our flag, we speak of *our* King, and *our* flag and *our* nation, and we even speak of *our* Navy, although we have no right to do it, as we shall some day have. Nothing pleased me better than that magnificent contempt which the speaker had for the mere financial side of the question. For whatever is great and true, God will always provide the money. We will provide it. There is no question about that, and we are not always going to live in the pauper condition of dependence in which we are now. A gentleman from Birmingham, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's own constituency, visited our schools this week, and he boasted to me that he got on the platform, that the teachers of old England, some of them, get on the platform and that a good many are getting into politics. Macnamara, a Canadian boy, is second in command of the Education Department; a Bristol teacher he was, and this man said he got on the platform and opposed Joseph Chamberlain, and when I sympathized with the latter, he said: "What do you pay for our Navy; do you pay anything?" And when I said, no. "Then shut up," he said; and I hadn't a very good argument to give back to him. I only told him that I would pray for him, that is all I could say!

The meeting to-night, as I understand it, is that we may really decide to achieve something and to establish a movement which will go out beyond this city of ours, and I want to say to the teachers who are here, to the men who represent the public schools of the city, and the men who represent the universities of the city, that I believe it would do you good to have the privilege of going out into the neighbouring cities and towns, up and down throughout this country on Saturday evenings as we might do, even if we had to pay our own expenses, and addressing meetings of our brothers everywhere up and down through the country. I think we ought to meet and decide that we would ask the head of our Education Department of this Province and every Province to try to arrange that once a year there ought to be a flag ceremony, or some other ceremony, in the schools that meant patriotism; and the preachers and the politicians and everybody who spoke to speak reverently of the great Empire and our position in the Empire and to show this map Mr. Murray has given us to-night; and in some way show our relationship to the Empire and the fact that we ought to rise to our position as the centre of that great realm and the better part of America. Let us understand we have the right to the name Americans, too, but let us make our name so honoured that all boys and girls shall be proud to be called Canadians. I hope as a result of this meeting to-night that a joint Committee will be formed representing the Empire Club and our teaching profession of all grades in this city—Protestant and Roman Catholic, University, Public School and High School—so that we may come together and adopt some plan for meetings at least once a month in the future; not simply to have an oration delivered by distinguished gentlemen, but more than that; that is fine, but more than that we should organize a definite system by which something may be achieved. To-night the great thing is that splendid address by a splendid Canadian; what I liked was the fundamental ideal of the whole thing, that spirit of majesty that seemed to come out from the address, a consciousness of power, a consciousness of undeveloped power in this country, and I tell Professor Leacock, if he is willing to come, that the teachers of Toronto would all like to have the opportunity of hearing him some day in the not-distant future. I have very great pleasure in seconding that resolution of thanks to Professor Leacock.

President Murray: Gentlemen, before asking you to express your opinion, I want to tell you that it was our hope to have had with us to-night the Hon. Dr. Pyne, Minister of Education, but late in the afternoon I got word from him that owing to the very short time left at the disposal of the Legislature he had to beg off on account of important public work. I may tell you, gentlemen, that not very many days ago the Chamberlain Chapter, Daughters of the Empire, waited on the Premier of the Province with a petition in connection with the flag in our schools, and he told us that he hoped to have some legislation passed at this Session which will commend itself to the most enthusiastic of the United Empire advocates. He has arranged for flags for the schools and he told us of something else that we would like even better than that, but he would not give us the satisfaction of knowing what it is. Gentlemen, I will ask you to express your opinion about that vote of thanks. (Applause, the audience rising.) Professor Leacock, I have much pleasure in extending to you the thanks of this Club and of the teachers of the City for the privilege of having you with them to listen to this magnificent address you have given us to-night.

Professor Leacock: I thank you very much, Mr. President, for your kind words and vote of thanks. I had dared to hope that I might say what would be a certain stimulus to some of you here, but I have myself received the very greatest stimulus on the path I intend to tread, from the words I have listened to from the other speakers, and I thank you not only for your vote of thanks but for the privilege I have enjoyed in being here.

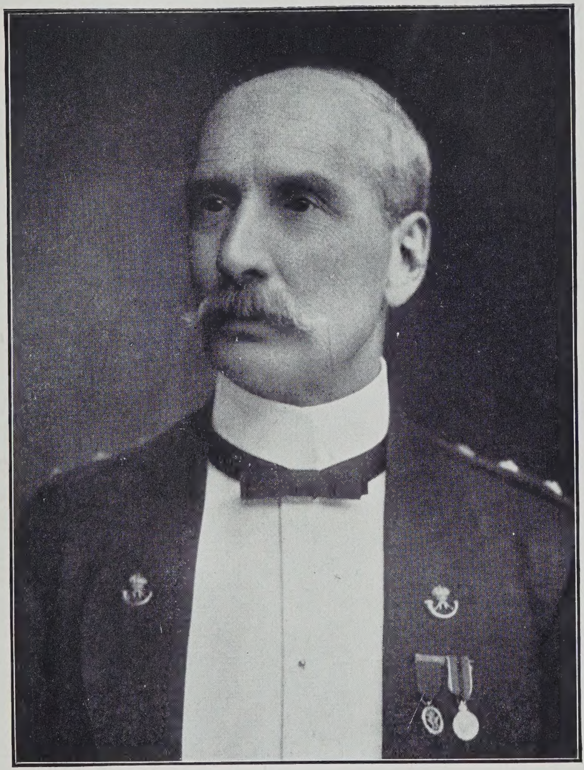
Professor McGillivray of Glasgow was here called upon and said: It gives me very great pleasure indeed to have the privilege and honour of addressing such a meeting as this. I take it that I owe it to the fact that I am a stranger—no, not a stranger, a visitor—within your gates and a Scotchman to boot, and I take it in the latter capacity I have a certain right to speak in any assembly where patriotism and loyalty are in question; because these words are emblazoned on every page of our national history and they are part and parcel of our common life in Scotland. Of course, as Robert Louis Stevenson has said, we have to pay a certain price for that, for the glorious privilege of being a Scotchman; we have in our youth to learn the Shorter Catechism. And we have in our manhood to learn to drink whiskey as a protection against our vile climate. (Laughter.) I do not know exactly whether that is the case nowadays or not; both these virtues or vices are going out of date in Scotland, but from what I have heard this evening I feel that the very same ideas of patriotism and loyalty that are so prevalent in Scotland are also prevalent in Canada. And why should it not be so, because we are all, both Canadians and Britishers, influenced by strains and tendencies flowing from afar, and by the currents and mysterious whispers of the blood. So spoke one of our noblest and most patriotic clansmen a short time ago, and I feel in going back to Scotland that I will carry home a message from you Canadians, a message saying that you are as loyal and as patriotic as ever you could possibly be. In regard to what has been said about teaching patriotism in the schools, I really feel that you are doing ever so much more in Canada here than we are doing in Scotland. I also feel that you require to do more. We are, so to speak, on the very hearth of patriotism; you are, to a certain extent, on the outside of the house and you have in a much greater extent than we have, a mixed people to train and educate into the principles of the Anglo-Saxon race. It has given me very great pleasure to be here to-night, and one of the best associations of my American trip will be my visit to Toronto, where I have seen some of the finest educational work that I have seen in travelling over some of the greatest cities of the Continent. I think you should be proud of your schools in Toronto, so far as I have seen them, and you should be proud of the man at the head, Mr. Hughes. I have again to thank you for the privilege and the honour of being permitted to address you.

EMPIRE QUESTIONS.

Address by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Cranston, K.C.V.O., V.D., D.L., Lord Provost of Edinburgh, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 3rd, 1907.

First of all let me thank you for your great courtesy and the honour you have done me in asking me to be present here to-day. I am a stranger; I hope you won't take me in. I do not quite understand why I should have been asked to address you, but I may tell you this much, that I thought that beyond Edinburgh I was hardly known except in volunteer and other military circles. I come from Edinburgh, and naturally what your President has said is quite true. You can quite understand it. I have held all along that there is only one country in the world, Britain. I have held that the greatest factor in her success is Scotland. I have even been impudent enough to say that there is only one place in Scotland, and that is Edinburgh!

Allow me to thank you for your hospitality. I am to-day the guest of the Empire Club. I take it, therefore, for granted that, leaving all small considerations aside, your one great ideal of the future is a united and imperial British Government. I do not belong to the party at present in power. I will say, however, that the men who at the present moment are governing Great Britain are true and thorough gentlemen in every respect. I know no better men, no better business men. It may be that the two men, one on either side of me, Colonel Mason and your President, may hold different opinions politically, or upon art, or upon science. It makes them no less gentlemen and no less anxious for the welfare of the country. I hope, therefore, that I may be permitted to differ on some of the subjects which they advocate. One of the most important subjects be-



SIR ROBERT CRANSTON, K.C.V.O., D.L., V.D.
Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

fore us since 1884 was the "Irish for the Irish," and "Scotch for the Scotch." I do not believe a word of it. There is no Irish; there is no Scotch; there is no Canadian; there is no English; in the well-being of the Empire. We are one people, speaking one language, with the same blood running through our veins, and with one hope, the well-being of the people of the country to which we belong.

We have common commercial interests, common liberties and other interests under the one flag. Have as much local self-government as you please, and to the very largest extent possible; for I believe, like you I have no doubt, that it is an impossibility to legislate in one central part for all the different localities which are under the British flag. What might apply to India would not apply to Canada; what applies to Canada might not apply to Scotland, and, therefore, I advocate, and have advocated all along, local self-government to the fullest extent; but one flag, one nationality, one Imperial idea—the well-being of the Anglo-Saxon race. I have just been telling your President of an extraordinary fact which I laid my hands upon this morning. I find in 1620, when the *Mayflower,* with its pilgrims, came to America, that there were only six million people speaking the English language. And to-day there are eighty million people speaking the English language, and if it goes on as it has in the past the probabilities are, as said by McCullough, that in one hundred years from this time there will be two hundred million people speaking the English language. But speaking the English language is not sufficient for us. The mere English language may be spoken by anybody, but we want the character of the British man to go over the world—his industry, patience, perseverance, and commercial enterprise is what we are interested in, and I believe, gentlemen, I do not flatter you when I say, and I hope you do not take offense, that this country of which you are now the inhabitants, owes all its greatness and its success to your indomitable perseverance, your patience, and your industry, for you had a most difficult task to undertake. You have successfully overcome the difficulties, and to-day she stands honoured by all the world. Regarding the relationship between the Old Country and this, I said yesterday we live a great deal upon the past; you are living in the great future; you have only begun, virtually, to develop, and a few years more will see a great change in this country. I believe that the British Government should foster, as far as it possibly can, its colonies and its dependencies, and those who are related by ties of one description or another. I do not like the word dependencies, I would have one British nation all over the world wherever we are found.

What I should advocate, I am afraid, when I get home, would lead them to think me too radical to be a Unionist. I should like to see a parliament, with all our people represented in it, delegates from every country sent in, I should say to London, but I do not mind if it is Toronto; it makes no difference so long as they are together. I believe that members of parliament should be local men, for the idea of a parliament of Great Britain is that these local men should each represent the localities to which they belong, and by their combined wisdom, knowing the wants of the inhabitants, legislate according to those wants. Now, gentlemen, I may go home to-morrow and become Prime Minister, which is most unlikely, I assure you, but in such a case what should I know of Canada and its wants? Why should there not be some one continually in the House of Commons, continually mixed up with the Government, who knows your affairs and your necessities, to advise for me? I believe that it would be to our advantage, and to your advantage.

In regard to a question which, I have no doubt, is troubling your minds, the tariff question, I should like to say—free trade all over the world. Are you prepared to open your ports to us? That is the question, and I do not know a more difficult subject to touch upon than that question of free trade. In many respects I uphold the ideas of Mr. Chamberlain, but not in some others. We are not a self-supporting country, and to all British products, and all foodstuffs, I should certainly give free entrance to Great Britain. I do not think it is very fair that France and Germany should debar us from going in. I shall put it before you practically. I am a manufacturer, and I go to France to look after an order. I take up the specification and I make out the cost 3,000 pounds. I frankly admit I add 10 per cent. as my profit. I add the carriage to the particular place to which it is going, and it comes out 3,600 pounds. I have to pay 1,100 pounds of duty at Calais, the port of entry, bringing the estimate to 4,700 pounds. When the estimates are opened I am beaten by 400 pounds. Therefore, the people were paying 700 pounds more for the same goods, the same work. That was protection. But look what follows. The same firm comes to London to compete against your humble servant, and I gain upon a 3,000 pounds job only 50 pounds. Is it fair? Why not give me an entrance to their country the same as I give them to ours. It would be better for all of us.

A voice: Why do you stand it?

Sir Robert: Why do I stand it? Are you married? (Laughter.) I understand the gentleman has been married only a few months. My dear sir, I have been forty years married, and I stand a lot that you have not learned yet. That is my reply to you in regard to that matter. Then there is another thing that I believe would be to the benefit of this country—that you should impress upon the people that you are Canadians, and not Americans. I believe that it is very detrimental to your interests. I take one common object, cheese. It is sent out from Canada to our country, and it is called American. Will you try and stop this and see that it is called Canadian.

Let me call your attention to what I believe is your idea, as it is mine. We cannot exist without mutual help, and all that need it have a right to ask it from their fellow mortals. No one who holds the power of granting can refuse it without guilt. I believe that is the position we should occupy in Great Britain. We have no right to refuse the aid in every respect to our colonies and those who are under the British flag, and whenever we refuse we are guilty of refusing to another man that which would make him better and do us no harm whatever. And in all our legislation and in all the legislation of the Old Country I sincerely hope that there is but one idea, that laid down by Virgil, when he said "the noblest motive is the public good," and if the public good be in Toronto, Montreal, or in any other part of the world, that I believe should be the ideal of all governments and of all mankind. A man who simply lives either to satiate his own ambition or to secure for himself some great power in the nation, has no heart; it is self, and self alone. Party should in every instance be sunk for the general welfare of the country. There should be no desire for merely power and place. When power and place is sought it should be with the single idea of national welfare, and then when the services of the men have been given without thought, without any hampering, without the mere idea of aggrandizing himself or making himself better in the minds of other men, the honours will come, for if he had no other honour when he died than that of being respected and beloved by his fellowmen, then he has earned that for which he came into the world.

All of us, whatever our positions may be, are filling up a little space which it was so willed we should. People say, "What power, what influence have I?" We go out from this meeting to-day and spread ideas of government which we have, and it is wonderful how they work. Being a Scotchman I feel that particularly. My country in the earlier days suffered very, very severely. By pluck and determination the people held on and upheld their rights and their liberties with the sacrificing of life, but they obtained ultimately what they wanted—freedom of thought and action, and one of the greatest calamities that could occur to us, for we are all together, would be any breaking off of those unions in any shape or form. Many of you will remember the story in Æsop's Fables, where the wood-cutter handed his son a bundle of sticks tied together with a thong of leather and said, "Break them over your knee." This the boy was unable to do, so the father undid the thong, took each stick separately and broke it with ease. Mr. President and gentlemen, that is the story of a people. So long as they are all bound together in one common interest and one great aspiration they need never be afraid of any other nation in the world, but the moment they are separated one after another they can be easily broken; and this I would say before sitting down, that if anything could bind Great Britain closer to Canada it would be the loyalty of Canada during the South African war.

Day after day men came in and gave their services, aye, and good and grand services they were, for what? It was not for their own nation that they were fighting, no, but the old idea was paramount above all others, it was their home; it was like the boy who goes to the door to drive away anyone who intrudes upon his mother and his family; and so they came and entered into the service under the flag. It was not the flag, which was only an emblem, but it was the idea that came to them—" We owe her everything. She gave us everything we have, and now that she is under the necessity of being supported, our blood and our life we are ready to give." It was given nobly, sacrificed willingly, and to-day I say with all sincerity and with all truth, that the British banner is more respected than ever, and that you, Canada, and the Colonies of Great Britain, deserve much of the credit; and I only hope that my visit here and my short speech will not be forgotten in this respect, that I am sure that I am not speaking for myself alone, but for the nation to which I belong, when I say that all the love of our hearts goes to all those who come under her flag; that whilst it can float on the breeze it will have their loyalty and that the love of the Old Country will go out to them and make us feel that which we all aspire to,—to love and honour our King and demand the rights, the freedoms and liberties of our country."

Mr. Justice J. V. Teetzel, Hamilton: I wish simply to confine my remarks to joining with you all in the felicitation of the occasion and in the treat that we have enjoyed from the lips of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

It has been a most eloquent and interesting speech and of such a character as helps to strengthen and build up the sentiment which is so prevalent in this country at the present time—not only the Canadian national sentiment, but the British national sentiment; and occasions like this, and speeches like this, sir, are great stimulating and educating mediums, and this and other Clubs are to be congratulated. They are doing a great service to this country in fostering assemblies of this kind. They are schools at which many are privileged to attend, and at which so much is and can be learned for the individual as well as the national good of the country. I trust, sir, that you will continue to enjoy such delightful occasions as we have had to-day during the balance of this year and for the years to come. I have nothing to add further, but to say that I am in hearty sympathy with the loyal sentiment of my friend, the Lord Provost, although, perhaps, in some details one is privileged to differ. But one cannot question the loyalty of the stand that our friend has taken, and I am sure that his remarks along that line are heartily endorsed by everyone present. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and bespeak for your Club the very greatest of successes. May it continue prospering and stimulating the most excellent spirit that now prevails in this country.

Mr. W. K. George: I am pleased that you have asked me to say a few words, because I would like to tell Sir Robert of the kindly recollections we have of the visit which our Canadian Manufacturers' Association made to England a few years ago. It is an old story here—the splendid time we had. It is, however, fresh in our own memories, the reception which we received in the Old Land, and in that beautiful city of Edinburgh. Sir Robert was our host, and I need not tell you after what you have heard to-day, and since you have seen the gentleman, that we had a splendid time. Sir Robert asked me yesterday not to tell everything that was done in Edinburgh, and out of consideration for my good friend, Dr. Bain, under whom I happen to serve in church matters, and not wishing to disturb those pleasant relations, I am moved to keep quiet! But I would like to say to Sir Robert this, that the results of such a reception as we had in the Old Land are far-reaching and permanent. They do much in a thoroughly lasting way to cement those ties of kinship and affection and tradition which are so necessary for the maintenance of our Empire. Sentiment, gentlemen, generated in whatever way, whether it be through tradition, or family connections, or friendships formed such as we made there, or more sordid commercial reasons, must be the binding tie between the different parts of the Empire and hold us together; and, gentlemen, such getting to know each other, the different members from the different parts of our widely separated Empire, and finding friends, has done much and will continue to do much to bind the Empire together.

Sir Robert will find in this Canada of ours, if he had time to travel it from coast to coast, an Imperial spirit, a desire to maintain the Empire. He would also recognize that it is not the mere ambition of equalling our neighbours or being equal to some of the great powers of Europe that leads us to be anxious to maintain the Empire, because within our own country have we not every possibility of equalling the greater nations and surpassing most of them. It is because we see that in two or three generations we will have an Empire that will simply overshadow anything else on earth; an Empire that will have most to do with the guiding of the world's destinies and the controlling of them in the best interests of mankind under British rule. That is why we believe in maintaining the present Empire, because it is the future we all look to, not the present. I thank you for this opportunity of telling Sir Robert Cranston of the kindly recollections we have brought back to Canada and of the friendly, brotherly, kinshiplike way we were treated in the Old Land; something which we will never forget.

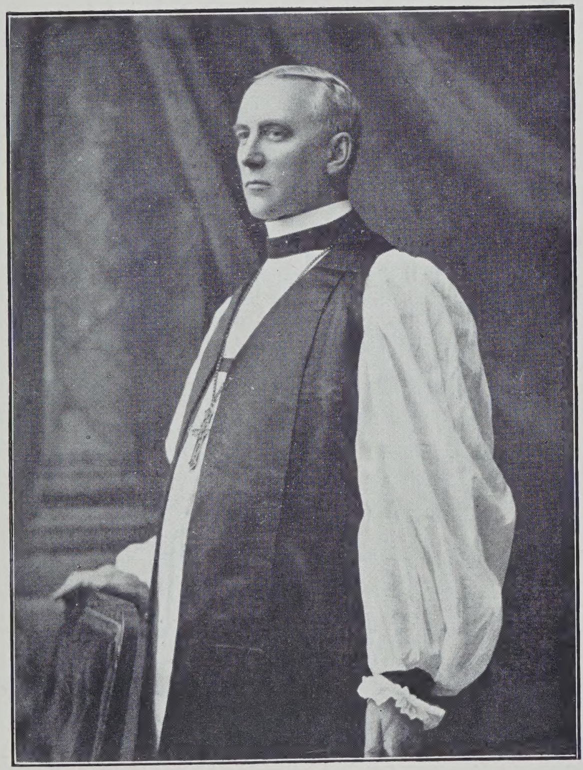
OUR COUNTRY: ITS DANGERS AND ITS NEEDS.

Address by the Right Rev. Dr. Wm. Lennox Mills, Lord Bishop of Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 10th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

The subject which I see I am announced to speak upon to-day is "Our Country and Its Responsibilities." With your permission, I would change it very slightly, and call the subject "Our Country: Its Dangers and Its Needs." With regard to its material aspects there is nothing to be desired; our lot has indeed been cast in a fair place and ours is a goodly heritage. Of its vastness few have any adequate conception or of its fertility or productiveness; capable of producing fruits and vegetables of all kinds, excepting those which can be only grown in tropical climates, and grains of every kind, from the wheat which makes the bread which strengthens man's heart down to the grains of coarser quality and for commoner use. The mineral wealth, too, of this country is of the most varied kind and practically inexhaustible. We have been slow to seek for it and to find it, and at times it seemed to come forth out of its hiding place as if to attract our attention. I fancy that it will yet be found that there is more than one Cobalt in our Province and that there are few of what we have been in the habit of regarding as barren sections in our country because of the mineral deposits which they contain.

We have coal mines, east and west, vast oil regions, natural gas which is being used now not only by many villages and towns for lighting but also for heating purposes. No country has greater, nay, has equal natural facilities in the form of water-power for the developing of electrical energy, which in future is likely to occupy



THE RIGHT REV. DR. WILLIAM LENNOX MILLS.
Lord Bishop of Ontario.

so large a place in the world's work and business and to supersede all other kinds of power. It has been estimated that we have in Canada over 40 per cent. of the water-power of the world. What a wonderful store of wealth we have in our forests, wasted in the past with reckless prodigality but still representing enormous riches. Our vast pasture lands have climatic conditions usually such as to develop and maintain the rich grasses on which our flocks and herds may feed and which serve to make our dairy interests so valuable an asset to this country. What wealth we have, also, in the cold, deep waters of the country and the stretches of ocean, in which Canada has rights, all literally swarming with fish of the choicest variety!

In 1904 (I have not seen the returns since, but I am told they are even greater) this industry gave to the Dominion $23,500,000, and in the Province of Ontario, according to the returns of the Department in 1905, it gave employment to 3,274 persons, and the result in money was $1,964,684. The Province expended upon this industry the sum of $31,000 and the gross revenue from it was nearly $47,000, making a net revenue of over $16,000. What a magnificent chain, too, of lakes and rivers we have, which serve to moderate our climate and so to increase its healthfulness and productiveness, and, as they flow through or by our villages and towns and cities, they serve to turn the busy wheels of many factories and so to give employment to thousands both of men and women, and at the same time provide a cheaper highway than otherwise could be had towards the ocean and the old lands lying beyond. Where could you find a more varied, more bracing or more healthful climate than we have, little thought of and appreciated oft-times by ourselves, but highly thought of and appreciated by people who come to visit us from other countries? Where can you find lands better or more perfectly adapted for agricultural purposes than we have in the Annapolis valley in Nova Scotia, in the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec, in a large portion of the Province of Ontario, in the thousands of miles of rolling prairies of the great North West, and in the stretches lying between the mountain ranges or along the coast in British Columbia.

People often go from our country to distant lands and to other countries in search of the picturesque and the beautiful, little dreaming that nothing more picturesque, more beautiful or more wonderful can be found anywhere in God's world than within the borders of this Dominion of Canada. We have in the Bay of Fundy the highest tides in the world, rising sometimes to a height of over fifty feet. We have in the Province of New Brunswick the wonderful sight of not only a great river rushing with swift current in two opposite directions at different times in the day, but a vast waterfall running with tremendous force and power in two different and opposite directions at different times in the twenty-four hours. In the Province of Quebec we have that beautiful and graceful sheet of water that I suppose almost every one here has seen, the Montmorency Falls. We have the Shawanigan or Great Falls, and we have the magnificent scenery of Lake Memphremagog and others.

The scenery of these lakes is attracting every year in greater numbers Americans who come and summer upon their shores, while many of our own people have never seen them, perhaps have scarcely heard of them. They certainly compare very favourably in their beauty with any of the English, Scotch or Irish lakes. Where can you find such a river as the St. Lawrence; where can you find anything so beautiful as the Thousand Islands of that river; unless it be the Ten Thousand Islands of the Georgian Bay? The Canadian portion of the Falls of Niagara can only be compared in its grandeur with the higher Falls of Kakabekha on the Kaministiquia River, which enters into Lake Superior by Fort William. Our whole country, our whole Province, is dotted with lakes and rivers of varying beauty and attractiveness, such as the Rideau Lakes and the Lakes of the Muskoka District, whilst the Northern portion of the Province of Quebec has lakes in sight of one another of wonderful beauty and attractiveness wherever you may go. These lakes are bringing our neighbours from across the borders, who have a faculty of discovering generally what is worth seeing and worth having, and as the saying goes, know a good thing when they see it, in ever-increasing numbers to summer upon the shores of these lakes and rivers. What was said of the land which God gave to his ancient people is applicable to our own land: "A good land and a large, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths which spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley and vines; a land wherein you can eat bread without scarceness; you shall lack nothing in it."

In the Rockies you have scenery very similar to that which you will meet with in Switzerland, and as grand as you can possibly look upon there; whilst in the Selkirks you have scenery that is absolutely unique, nothing I believe to surpass it, scarcely be compared with it, anywhere in this world. I have travelled pretty largely, and I have never seen anything to equal it. You have not the limited glaciers of Switzerland, but miles and miles glistening in the sunshine with all the colours of the rainbow, and the brightness of a diamond. And such wonderful contrasts in the scenery. As one has said, "You have here a brotherhood of clustered peaks, and there the solitude of a mountain monolith; here you have a gladsome glade, and there a chilling glacier; here an inviting grove, and there a gloomy cavern; here a friendly valley with green grass and purple flower, and there a frowning cliff; here you have a raging torrent, and there a laughing cascade; here a rushing river, and there a placid stream." The magnificence and grandeur of the vision on which the eye rests, and which as a panorama passes before you, as you journey through those mountain ranges that lie between here and the Pacific Coast simply overwhelms and amazes you. There is no country more deserving, I feel, of the love, loyalty, and devotion of its people in all the wide world which God has made and blessed. There is not another country more richly endowed in many respects than this Canada of ours. Everything which ought to make a country great and a people prosperous has been intrusted to us in fullest measure and, remember, we are not only citizens of this great country so picturesque, so wonderful, so richly endowed, but we dwell in the fairest portion of it, the Province of Ontario, which has been spoken of and named as the "Garden of Canada."

So prosperous are we that our revenue now exceeds our expenditure. We are able to boast of an actual surplus of revenue, and besides all these material things we have all the blessings of a free and constitutional government in this Dominion, embodying the dignity and honour and stability of the Throne and giving at the same time all the freedom which could possibly be enjoyed in the freest republic—a freedom which only stops short of license. Other men have laboured and we have entered into their labours. We are enjoying the experience and works of older countries. We have the fullest civil and religious liberty; everyone may dwell at peace under his own vine and his fig-tree, none making him afraid. The shield of the flag of the Empire to which he belongs is pledged to his defence. Our educational system too, taking all things into consideration, is wonderfully perfect and far-reaching. So complete is it that the poorest child in the land may become possessed of a liberal education, and so, if he have the ability, be fitted to occupy the highest position attainable in the land.

No country gives greater privileges or furnishes greater opportunities to its people than does this Canada of ours. The highest position in the land has no closed doors or barriers in the way of the person who has the ability and the determination to reach the position. Work, earnestness and fidelity will always in Canada meet with their due reward, but all these things undoubtedly have been given us in trust. They are responsibilities that have been vouchsafed to us. This principle is true with reference to the State, the Commonwealth, even as it is of the individual. God has given us this good land and these privileges and we are stewards, but all for Him. It is not mere vast territorial possessions or accumulations of wealth or a large population, though all these give power to a people, or influence in the world's councils, but rather the character of the people, that matters. God's ancient people as a nation compared with other nations was but small, yet as they loved truth and righteousness and were faithful in their allegiance to their Heavenly King they made their mark in the world's history. Greece, as regards territory, was comparatively small, but it had a marvellous influence because of its stability of character, its integrity, its loyalty to its ideals; its simplicity of thought always begot force of action. The British Isles have left a wonderful mark upon the world's history of which every member of the Empire may well be proud, chiefly because their people as a people have loved truth and have frowned upon everything base, or ignoble, or mean.

Now our dangers, and they are real, arise in the first place from lack of cohesiveness, and this comes from the different elements of which our nationality is composed. There are pouring into our country, and especially into our great North-West, by the tens of thousands almost every day people from every nation under heaven. They have their own customs, their own ideas, their own notions of government, their own religions, and some of them are without any religion at all. The country for the present, at least, is nothing to them except for what they can get out of it, and there is a danger that these foreign elements may in time overwhelm the Canadian portion and vastly surpass them in numbers as well as the immigrants from the Mother-land who are coming to settle in Canada and make it their home, having hearts filled with love for British institutions and loyalty to the British throne. I am told that at the present time there are over thirty different languages spoken in the North-West. It may be said, and it has been said, that the United States has had to meet the same difficulties and has not suffered from them, but that is not true. They have not had to grapple with, and to deal with the same dangers in this respect to which we are exposed. Their own people had to a very large extent settled the Western States, and had stamped upon it a certain civilization and character before the incoming tide of foreign immigration had set in, and so they were able to stamp upon that incoming immigration a certain national character, and were able to control it. Then a dual language and Separate schools constitute another disintegrating force amongst us. Making the people two instead of one causes them oft-times to look upon each other with suspicion and to be toward each other strangers instead of friends. The one official language in the Common school has been largely the instrumentality in the United States by which the various elements were assimilated in a national existence which is not as old as some of its inhabitants, and consequently cannot inspire with that love with which the older countries can fill the hearts of their people. The country must have a history; must be able to tell of achievement; must be able to tell of conflicts waged and victories won; of oppressions overcome and liberties gained; in order to inspire its people with love, such love as men have had for country in the past and still have, which has led them not only to do, but even to die in its defence.

Then there is another reason and that is manhood suffrage,—the ideal condition, and yet having connected with it many things that work against the interest of a country. The man who has no stake in the country at all has, so far as his vote goes, the same influence and the same power as the man possessed of hundreds of thousands of dollars which he has at stake in the country's welfare or the country's future. He looks upon his vote as worth so much to him as a mere financial asset, and he is ready oft-times to sell it to the highest bidder, and so it has been a real source of danger and a real cause of wrong often-times to every country where manhood suffrage exists. Then, again, there has been a lack of high ideals for sometime past, amongst the men who have sought public place in our land. The question with many of them has been not "What can I do for my country?" but "How much can I get out of her?" "What can I secure from her?" They have sought office for office-sake. There has been much party but little patriotism, and neither party can boast of a monopoly of either purity or corruption. As between them it is largely a question of the ins and outs. The practical policy of the present Dominion Government, to all intents and purposes, is exactly the policy of its predecessor which was opposed strongly whilst in power.

Our country, looked at from any point of view you please, is most desirable. As I have said, we have a magnificent climate; we have marvellous mineral wealth; we have picturesqueness that is exceptional and truly wonderful. The principles of our government are all that could be desired. What we do need are honest, patriotic men to represent us and to administer our country's affairs; to be rid of graft and partisanship and the evils connected with party politics. The representation of our country is not really and truly a complete and perfect representation, a representation of the people, though people generally suppose it is. A few wire-pulling politicians get together and hold what they call a convention. Everything has been arranged beforehand and a person is chosen to represent the party. Often-times he would not be the person whom the party as a party, would choose, but because he has been chosen the party feels bound to stand back and support him.

Some years ago out in the country I met a man who seemed to be in great trouble politically. He told me that his party had chosen a man whom he characterized as an evil-doer, an immoral man, practically an unbeliever. He had never done anything for the constituency. He was a wire-puller, a political heeler. He had brought influence to bear by which his party had chosen him as representative; whilst the man of the opposite party was a good man, a member of the same church to which he belonged, a teacher in the Sunday School; had done a great deal for the constituency; but, he said: "Of course, I must stand by my party and go against my friend." I read him a lecture, I assure you, very plainly given, and I trust that it had the influence of leading him to change his mind and to vote differently from the way in which he intended to vote; in other words, that his party lost that particular vote.

As regards the loyalty of the people of Canada towards things British and the British throne there can be no possibility of doubt. Indeed, they are more loyal than the English themselves. We are far enough away from Royalty not to be dazzled; far enough away not to see any specks that may be upon the sun. However some may dream of an independent national existence, the holding of a vaster Empire than has been, the mother and daughter keeping house separately, yet often taking sweet counsel together and walking as friends, none think of annexation to the neighbouring republic now. Wherever such idea may have been held in the past, certainly, so far as I know, and I know pretty widely the spirit of Canadians, for I have had to do pretty largely with men of all classes throughout the Dominion, all such views and all such ideas have long since been cut down, dried up and withered.

Imperialism has in it a unifying influence, which certainly, under present conditions, the idea of an independent national existence, cannot possibly offer. The magnificence of Britain's past; the splendour of her present, which promises an ever-enlarging and brightening future; her stand for truth and righteousness which has led John Bull to be regarded as the moral policeman of the world; and the Empire, as the last court of appeal in all questions of international right and wrong, have made men proud to be regarded as her sons, and ready to do everything in their power to strengthen the bonds which connect them with her and make them one together. And so, in closing, I would congratulate the Empire Club and its members on the ideals they have placed before them, and the work that you are striving to do of trying to impress upon Canadians Imperial ideas, and so to unite them more and more strongly with the Mother-land; to make them feel the responsibilities which devolve upon them as members of this mighty Empire, the greatest that the world has ever known, embracing, as it does, one-fifth of the land area of the world, and composed of more than 400,000,000 of people, bound together closely so that they are almost one living body; bound together not by force, but by mutual ties of interest and of brotherhood, and of allegiance to a common sovereign. In doing this, gentlemen, you are doing the greatest work for this country and for its people that can possibly be done, so I wish the members, and the Club as a whole, all success in the work that you are endeavouring to do in this respect.

The Very Reverend Dean Farthing, Kingston.—Mr. President and Gentlemen: I came here with very great pleasure as a guest, for two purposes, to enjoy with you the speech that we have just heard, and also as one of the Clergy of the Ontario Diocese to keep my eye upon my Bishop when he is away from home; so I was not expecting for a moment to be called up. Referring, however, to the address to which we have just listened, there are perhaps some thngs whch would appeal to us all as not only Canadians but also as members of the greater British Empire, that we have in Canada to put before ourselves as ideals. The Bishop has stated some of our dangers. I have not time to enter into that again, but we have to put before ourselves ideals, and those ideals must be the goal towards which we are all pressing, and for the attainment of which we are willing to make any and every sacrifice. It is no use having ideals that you wrap in a silk handkerchief and put away and look at on state occasions; unless we are striving to work them out. When we have an ideal that has been handed down to us, of the highest honour and integrity in public life and commercial life, that has made the British Empire what it is; that has made her men brave; has made her men fearless to do the honest thing even though it mean disaster financially;

I say that such an ideal as this must be held and sought after by sacrifice. It is well enough to applaud ideals when the sun is shining on them. It is a totally different thing to face ridicule and make sacrifice for their sake, and that is characteristic of the British Empire. It won the freedom of the Britons. They were ready to fight and die for it, and actually did die for it. What made the United Empire Loyalists what they are in our esteem, but the sacrifice that they made for their ideals?

Now, I have stood upon a platform with a man who opposed the ideal that I was holding very strongly, and who, after his address opposing my ideal, said to me, "I fully agree with you." "Well," I said, "why are you opposing me?" He said, "It is Political Expediency." I say a man who would sacrifice ideals for political expediency is a traitor to the British Empire, and to mankind. If the Bishop and I were to be drawn up on traditional political lines, we would be found on different sides, but we are united in this, that there is an ideal that we are both after, and we are willing to sacrifice the interests of party. And I feel when I look at my party and see some dastardly deed done there, and men come to me and say, "We want you to be quiet about that"; I say, "I won't be quiet about it." If the outrage is in my party it affects me. If it is in the other party it affects the other fellow far more than it does me. But if I am associated with men who do these things that are corrupt, and I acquiesce in them by silence, or by endorsing them, I am a party to such corruption, my garments are stained with it; and when corruption is in our own party, that is the corruption we want to fight. We want men who will rise above party levels in Canada, and uphold the ideals of British manhood.

Mr. J. C. Langelier, Quebec.

THE FOREST WEALTH OF CANADA.

Address by Mr. C. J. Langelier, of Quebec, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 18th, 1907.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am very glad to have an opportunity of expressing to you the opinions of the mass of the French-Canadians in the matter of allegiance to Britain. Quebec is the country in which I was born. When I was at college with you, Mr. Murray, you could hardly find, in a radius of twenty miles about St. Hyacinthe, a man who could say "yes" in English. My family is one of the oldest French-Canadian families in the country, and I can say without fear of serious contradiction, that the sentiment of the whole mass of the population is one of loyalty to Britain, and that what was said before Confederation, "that the last shot for the defence of England in Canada would be fired by a French-Canadian," is still true. We French-Canadians have, of course, a great many imperfections, but there is something else that we have; we have gratitude, and we cannot forget that here in Canada under the British crown, surrounded by a British population, we have more liberty than any other Catholics in the world. There is no other country in the world which is more free. We are protected by the British Court of Justice (Judicial Committee), and I may say more than that; we would go before a Court presided over by an English-speaking judge with more confidence than before a Court presided over by a French-Canadian. I say this as a French-Canadian, and as I am the son of a farmer, and all my family were farmers, I know just as well as a man can know, the real sentiment of the people.

You can go into the remotest part of the French-Canadian settlements anywhere, and generally you will find the portrait of one of the Popes, and alongside of it, a portrait of that good Queen Victoria, and a portrait of King Edward. They are there without any pretension at all. The one is the guide of our conscience, and the other the protector of our religious liberty. Of course, gentlemen, you will sometimes have people, young men and others, who will make rows about British rule, as you know very well. You have them, I suppose, among the English people just the same. There are always people who want to catch public opinion, but if you take the opinions of the mass of French-Canadians, it is just as I have been expressing it. If you could travel through our country and ask any French-Canadian if he would prefer to make a change from British rule, he would say, "Why? We cannot be better off than we are now; why should we change?" Take the higher classes, our clergy; they cannot forget that in 1852 the Queen granted them religious liberty, and it was at that time a great point. As far as the United States is concerned, I do not think there is any sentiment whatever which tends in that direction. Their constitution would do away with two points to which we stick more than anything else; religion and nationality. Suppose that the Province of Quebec were a part of the United States. We would have to pass our laws in English. Under British rule, we can do it in French, and we are perfectly at home. I know that in a Club like this, you never interfere in politics. I belong to a family of French Liberals. We are all Liberals, but what I am speaking now, is the opinion of the Conservative party just as it is of the Liberal party. We are all unanimous in this respect. I turn now to the subject of my address.

The forest area of Canada has been variously estimated. According to a careful estimate made in 1894 by Mr. George Johnson, then Dominion Statistician, our forests would occupy a superficies of 1,348,798 square miles, or 863,230,720 acres. Nine years later, Dr. Robert Bell, who had spent more than forty-five seasons exploring in all parts of Canada, stated in an address delivered at Ottawa that the forests of Canada stretch from Labrador to Alaska, a distance of 3,700 miles, and have an average breadth of 700 miles, forming an area of 2,590,000 square miles, or 1,657,600,000 acres, which is about fifty times the area of England and upwards of twenty-one times the area of the United Kingdom. In the Lectures on Forestry, which he delivered at the School of Mining, Kingston, in 1903, Dr. B. E. Fernow says that statistics show that Canada has 800,000,000 acres of wood-land. The learned Director of the New York State College of Forestry adds that "of this vast acreage probably not fifty per cent. may be considered as forest land fit for timber production, the rest, perhaps, able to satisfy domestic and pulp-wood demands, but not to be considered in connection with timber requirements."

Canada has much more than 800,000,000 acres of wood-lands covered with spruce fit for domestic and pulp-wood demands, but inaccessibility renders part of that forest domain practically unavailable. Deducting this unavailable portion, the area mentioned by Dr. Fernow is correct. With regard to area, the available portion of the Canadian forests far exceeds the superficies of the forests of any other country in the world. The last Census assigns to the wood-lands of the United States an area of 670,000,000 acres, which is 130,000,000 acres, or 20 per cent. less than the forest acreage of Canada. In Europe, Russia possesses by far the largest acreage of wood-lands; its forests cover an area of 457,135,000 acres, or about 57 per cent. of the area of the Canadian forests. Sweden comes next, with a forest domain of 76,795,888 acres, or a little more than 9 per cent of our wood land acreage.

In the rest of Europe, the most valuable forests are found in Prussia, 21,111,421 acres; Bavaria, 6,243,460 acres; Wurtemburg, 1,377,000 acres; Alsace-Lorraine, 1,150,000 acres; Saxony, 962,000 acres; Baden, 803,069 acres; Hesse, 612,020 acres; Saxe-Weimar, 231,420 acres; Saxe-Meiningen, 264,310 acres (making for those parts of the German Empire 32,755,510 acres); France, 23,600,000 acres; Austria, 47,993,442 acres; Switzerland, 2,115,188 acres; Norway, 2,265,567 acres; Denmark, 648,090 acres. Making a fair allowance for the countries whose wood-land areas are not reported it may be said that the total extent of the woodlands of Europe, including Russia and Sweden, is about 670,000,000 acres, viz., the same area as that of the forests of the United States, but 130,000,000 acres, or twenty per cent. less than the area of the available portion of our Canadian forests.

Conifers predominate in the forests of Canada, and amongst those conifers spruce is by far the most abundant growth. As a rule, our spruce forests are very dense and yield to the acre comparatively large quantities of saw-logs and pulp-wood. In the Chicoutimi district the average run of pulp-wood is about twenty cords, or 12,000 feet B.M. to the acre. Taking the whole of our wood-lands, and making allowance for burnt spaces, windfalls and bare rocks, it may be said without fear of serious contradiction, that on an average the available forests of Canada can yield to the acre 1,000 feet B.M. of saw-timber, and 3 cords, or 1,800 feet B.M. of pulp-wood, or a total of 3,000 feet B.M. per acre. At this rate, the spruce growing on our 800 million acres of wood-lands is sufficient to make 800 billion feet of saw-timber and 2,400 million cords of pulp-wood. At 50 cents per M. for saw-timber and 25 cents per cord for pulp-wood, the stumpage of our spruce forests would be worth one billion dollars. Now, what can we get annually out of those forests? Under proper management, and in favourable situations, it is a well-known fact that spruce reproduces within twenty to thirty years. The growth is slower in poor, thin soils and northerly situations. But even in such less-favoured conditions, spruce reproduces within one hundred years. Let us take this latter period of growth for a basis of calculation in order to find the quantity of spruce which may be cut annually without injuring the perpetuity of the forest. If reproduction is effected within 100 years, the annual growth is the 100th part of the present stand, viz., 24 billion feet B.M. Judging by the Census of 1901, the yearly cut for domestic purposes and export is, in round numbers, 5 billion feet B.M., or a little more than the fifth part of the annual growth. Therefore we could increase by five times our annual consumption without in the least affecting the perpetuity of our forests. Doubling the quantity required for home consumption, and raising it to ten billion feet per annum, to meet the increase of our population, there are still left 14 billion feet for exportation, viz., 5 billion feet of saw-timber, and 9 billion feet, or 15 million cords, of pulp-wood.

At current market prices, the products of the saw-timber are worth $12.00 per M., which represents $60,000,000 for the 5 billion feet which could be exported. Pulp-wood, ready for shipment, is worth $5.00 a cord. At this price the 15 million cords which we could export annually would yield $75,000,000. But under a truly national policy, and by forcing the manufacturing of our spruce in Canada, instead of allowing it to be shipped and manufactured outside of Canada, we could draw much more from the immense source of wealth we possess in our spruce forests. Out of the 9 billion feet of pulp-wood available yearly for exportation, we could manufacture 9 million tons of paper, or enough to supply the whole world. At $40 a ton, the annual value of this paper industry would amount to $360,000,000, or nearly a million dollars for each day of the year. In 1903, the whole wheat crop of the United States was 399,867,250 bushels, valued at $286,242,849, or nearly $74,000,000 less than the value of the 9 million tons of paper which we could manufacture for exportation. Then we have the 10 billion feet reserved for domestic purposes and home consumption. At $8.00 per M., this represents $80,000,000. Resuming these data, we have:

For the products of spruce saw timber............	$ 60,000,000
For the products of spruce manufactured into paper for exportation..............................	360,000,000
For spruce used for home consumption...........	80,000,000
Forming a total of......................	$500,000,000

So far, scientists have not been able to find substitutes for spruce in the manufacture of paper, and there is every reason to believe that for generations to come the great staple species of our Canadian forests will be the peerless material used in the manufacture of paper. In America, the United States are our only possible competitors in the paper industry. But their spruce forests are nearly depleted. In 1900 the supply was estimated at 50 billion feet B.M. by the Census officers. with an annual consumption of 2,363,028,891 feet, viz., 1,448,000,091 feet for lumber, 696,070,800 feet for pulpwood, and 218,958,000 feet for shingles. At this rate, the annual cut during the seven years elapsed since the date of the Census has reduced the stand of spruce by upwards of 23 billion feet, and brought it down to 27 billion feet, or barely enough for a ten-year supply. For lumber and building timber, the United States can replace spruce by some other kinds of wood; but for the manufacture of paper they are bound to get spruce or get out of the business, particularly as regards their export trade.

Next to spruce, pine is our most valuable forest asset. Our stand of white and red pine may be estimated at 100 billion feet B.M. At $4.00 per M., the stumpage of our pine forests is worth $400,000,000. And the value of this asset increases rapidly as the depletion of the white pine forests of our neighbors progresses. In the New England States, New York and Pennsylvania, the stand of white pine was 3 billion feet B.M. in 1900, and the annual cut, as shown by the Census, was over 952 million feet, so that the whole stand is now gone. In the three lake States, the stand and the annual cut shown by the Census were:

	Stand	Annual Cut
Michigan..............	6,000,000,000 ft.	1,306,002,000 ft.
Wisconsin..............	15,000,000,000 “	2,572,593,000 “
Minnesota..............	11,190,000,000 “	2,358,536,000 “
	32,190,000,000 ft.	6,237,131,000 ft.

If cutting progressed nearly at the same rate since the Census of 1900, upwards of 42 billion feet have been removed, and there should not be much left now of the ascertained stand of 32 billion feet. With the decrease, we might say the exhaustion, of supplies in the United States and the increase of their needs for imported white pine, the value of our Canadian pineries rises by leaps and bounds. At $20 per M., the 100,000,000,000 feet of pine lumber which our forests can yield, represent an industrial value of two billion dollars.

The big trees of British Columbia and of the foothills in Alberta constitute forests of great value. The Douglas Pine (*Pinus monticola*), Engelmen Spruce, Menzie's or Sitka spruce, western hemlock, Douglas fir, red cedar, yellow cedar or yellow cypress, constitute a forest growth which is perhaps worth more than all the mines of that Province, except its coal measures. When the Panama Canal is open, British Columbia will be in a position to compete successfully for the trade of the West Indies and South America, which will add largely to its lumber business and to the commercial value of its forests. Its red and yellow cedar, which take such a brilliant polish, and are so admirably adapted for interior finishing and the manufacture of furniture, are destined to replace white pine as it disappears in the Eastern Provinces. Menzie's spruce will likewise replace white pine in the manufacture of doors and window sashes, and already Douglas fir is imported into Ontario and Quebec for structural purposes. The building of new railways through British Columbia will facilitate the shipment eastwards of forest products, and of necessity increase the commercial value of the immense forests of that Province.

The Douglas fir is the staple species of the forests of British Columbia. It grows everywhere as far north as the Skeena River, by 54 deg. of latitude, except on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and in favourable situations it attains a height of 300 feet and a diameter of 11 feet. The average tree is 150 feet long and from 2 to 5 feet in diameter. There are instances it is claimed, where more than 500,000 feet B.M. have been cut on a single acre, but the average is about 50,000 feet per acre. The area within which this fir grows contains about 75,000,000 acres. At the rate of 50,000 feet per acre, the stand of Douglas fir in this area would be 3,750 million of thousands feet B.M. At the low estimate of $1.00 per M., the stumpage of this fir represents a value of $3,750,000,000.

Cedar is another valuable species of our forests. In New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, we have the white cedar, which is used for making shingles, telegraph poles, culvert wood and railroad ties. For culvert wood, cedar is now placed on the same footing as white pine by many engineers, and for ties it is preferred to any other wood, as also for telegraph and telephone poles. Out of this cedar we make yearly over ten million railroad ties, which at current prices are worth at least $2,500,000. Shingles, telegraph poles and culvert wood give as much, which brings to five million dollars the annual value of the products of eastern cedar. The giant arbor vitae, or red cedar, of British Columbia is a mammoth tree, attaining 150 feet in height and 10 feet in diameter. It is chiefly used in the manufacture of shingles, for which purpose it is equalled by no other wood. On account of the fine polish it takes, it is well adapted for interior finishings, and in British Columbia it enters largely into the manufacture of doors and cabinet work of all kinds. It is shipped to Eastern Canada in increasing quantities, and when our white cedar stand is exhausted, red cedar will undoubtedly replace it, especially for the manufacture of shingles. The supply of red cedar is not so plentiful as that of Douglas fir, but it is considerable yet. This cedar attains its greatest size on Vancouver Island, along the coast and in the lower parts of the Coast Range. It abounds in the river valleys, on the slopes of the Selkirk and Coast ranges. The stand may be fairly estimated at 200 billion feet B.M., which at $1.00 per M. represents a stumpage value of $200,000,000.

Dr. Hector, Geologist to Capt. Palliser's exploring party, mentions in his report that on the eastern side of the Rockies, in the upper valley of the North Saskatchewan, the bark of western hemlock, which is abundant, is very thick, attaining very often a thickness of four inches, and very rich in tannin. This kind of hemlock is also abundant along the coast of British Columbia and in the Selkirk Mountains along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The bark of the Douglas fir is likewise rich in tannin. It seems that the distillation of these barks, to transform them into an extract for tanning purposes, could become a very important industry. In the Eastern Provinces, particularly Quebec, hemlock bark is getting so dear and so scarce that leather manufacturers are forced to replace it, at least partially, by some imported tanning materials. A condensed product like bark extract could stand the long transportation from western to eastern Canada, and this industry of distilling bark to transform it into tanning extract might add considerably to the commercial value of the forests of Alberta and British Columbia.

In the United States, the providing of ties for railways has taken the proportions of an important problem. In Canada, we are not worried by this pre-occupation, as we have an abundance of materials fit for making railroad ties. In the first place, we have cedar, which for many years to come can supply ten million ties annually. In certain districts where cedar is not available, hemlock and spruce can replace it. In Western Ontario and Manitoba, burr oak can yield a considerable supply of ties. Birch is in France the choice timber for making railway ties; this tree grows abundantly in Ontario, where it could be used for the same purpose. Of late years, jack pine has been used for railroad ties. It is found from the Maritime Provinces to the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains, and Prof. Macoun says it increases in height and girth as one travels westward, the finest trees being found between Northern Manitoba and the Athabaska River, where great areas are covered with large trees. This timber, in Quebec and the North-West, as far as the Rockies, can supply almost limitless quantities of ties. In the Rocky Mountains and in the northern part of the interior plateau of British Columbia, jack pine is replaced by black pine (*Pinus Murrayana*), which is abundant and well suited for railway ties, as it is very tough and not apt to decay.

For bridge work, trestles, frame for large buildings, and car works, our railways have in the forests of big trees in British Columbia an inexhaustible supply of timber of the very best description. Of hardwoods, Ontario possesses the most supply, in regard both to quality and quantity, but with the exception of white oak, hickory and sycamore, there is also an abundant supply in the other Eastern Provinces. These hardwoods are used in the manufacture of farm implements, carriages and vehicles of all sorts, furniture, coffins and wooden ware. The use of these hard woods increases as railroad construction affords better facilities to take them out of the forest. But they grow fast, and the present stand is so large that we can increase the manufactures in which they are used to any extent, without fear of ever exhausting the supply, which counts up in the billions of feet B.M. Careful investigation leads to the belief that our supply of all other kinds of wood equals about 33 per cent. of our supply of spruce, or 80,000,000 M. At $1.00 per M., the stumpage of these various kinds of wood amounts to $800,000,000, and if you estimate the sawed lumber at the low price of $12 per M., you find a total exceeding 21 billion dollars.

The wood and timber supply, which is a question of such grave importance for other nations, has no surprise in store for Canada. Under proper management, and with fair protection against fire, our forests are inexhaustible, even with an annual consumption of thirty billion feet for home use and exportation. In 1900 the products of all the saw-mills of the United States was 37,315,584,201 feet B.M. Besides and above that, there were 118,943 cords of wood for various manufacturing purposes, 22,592,000 railroad ties, 8,716,000 fence posts, 1,206,000 hop poles, 397,000 piles, 2,580 masts and spars, 937,963 telegraph poles, and 6,796,334 bushels of charcoal. Then the cut of pulp-wood was 970,255,800 feet

B.M., or 1,617,093 cords, viz., 1,160,118 cords of spruce, 236,820 cords of poplar and 220,150 cords of hemlock and other woods. Converted into broad measure, these various items would form a total of at least 40 billion feet B.M., without taking in the quantities used for fuel. It is a well-known fact that not more than half of the wood-lands of the United States support a growth of merchantable timber, and that the average stand does not exceed 3,000 feet B.M. to the acre. At this rate, the present stand of merchantable timber would hardly yield 2,000 million feet, or barely enough to supply for thirty years the always increasing demand.

Dr. B. E. Fernow, Director of the New York State College of Forestry, of Cornell University, contends that the present timber supply of the United States will be exhausted within thirty years. "An estimate," he says, "of the present stand of virgin timber in the United States ready to supply the demand for lumber, although admittedly on slender basis, brings out the improbability, if not the impossibility, of meeting the increased demand for another thirty years under present methods of utilization. Even if the entire forest area of five hundred million acres were supposed still fully stocked with the average stand per acre, as reported by the Census in the holdings of lumbermen—an absurd proposition—the stock on hand would be exhausted within that period." Some people lay a great stress on the fact that, in the United States, Governments are organizing forest reserves which may be a great source of supply for the future. The area of these reserves is a little more than 122,000,000 acres. Dr. Fernow, who is an expert in these matters, demolishes this contention. "The possibilities," he says, "of securing the requirements for reproduction in the natural forest are discussed on the basis of European experiences and without proper reference to the damaging forest fires. It is shown that even under good forestry practice, the present increasing demand could, from the present area, be supplied only for a limited time."

The facts gathered from the Census and the statements of an expert of the standing of Dr. Fernow all agree to establish the fact that the practical exhaustion of the forests of the United States is at the utmost a matter of 25 or 30 years. This may convey an idea of the potentialities of our forest industry and of the necessarily increasing value of our wood-lands. This value will, of course, increase with the needs of our rich neighbours, who more and more are forced to look to Canada for their supply of lumber, shingles and pulp-wood. When it is an ascertained fact that they consume 40 billion feet B.M. of wood yearly, it becomes clear enough that it would require no superhuman efforts on our part to dispose of our yearly surplus of 24 billion feet B.M. at the very conservative estimate of $12 per M. The 24 billion feet we can sell every year to our neighbours would make an annual income of $288,000,000, or a couple of million more than the value of the whole wheat crop of the United States in 1903. And when the supply of the United States is exhausted, we will have to face the demand of the European countries, to which the Americans ship a large portion of their forest products and which will still further increase the value of our forest domains.

THE BRITISH AND THE METRIC SYSTEMS.

Address by Professor N. F. Dupuis, of Queen's University, Kingston, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 25th, 1907.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—

As you have said, a great many people take little or no interest in the Metric system of weights and measures. They may think it is a matter of no account, but if the Metric system were once established legally throughout this country, then I say you would find it a matter of great account, because the main part of your ideas in regard to many things, ideas in which you have been educated and grown up, would have to be changed. I look upon it as a very serious thing to consider a change in any system so well established as our system of weights and measures. It is certain, however, that some changes must take place in not a very great length of time, because those who believe in the Metric system are doing their best to convince people of its merits, and they are doing their best to have our Government commit itself to the Metric system, and thus to have it foisted upon the people of this country, and not only of this country, but of Great Britain and the United States. If they can get the unsuspecting people to adopt the Metric system, then the whole world has it, because the English-speaking people and those who found their weights and measures upon the British system out-number the metricists as yet by over one hundred millions; consequently it would be a great feather in their cap if they could succeed in their attempt.

I cannot speak on the Metric system from the manufacturer's standpoint, because I am not a manufacturer. I can only speak of it from the scientific standpoint, and when I say scientific I mean the point of view of its perfection as a system. If we are to change our present system for any other, it should be for not only a better system than we have, but it should be for a system that is perfect as far as a system can be made perfect. I consider that the English-speaking races, and those races which adopt the British units, are too important in this world, in the civilized world, in the history of the world, and in the future of the world, to have put upon them any other than the best that they can have. They are worthy of the best, and they should see that they get the best. Now, the question arises, " Is the Metric system the best that can be devised?" This is the point of view that I want to take up. I do not believe it is, and that is the reason I am opposed to its compulsory adoption. If I did believe it was, then, of course, I would advocate its compulsory adoption. That is where I stand upon the matter. It is not from the spirit of opposition on my part at all that I oppose the introduction of the Metric system into all our common businesses of life, but because I do not believe it is the best system that we could have. I would not be opposed to the adoption of some other system if it could be shown to be as near perfect as we could get it, but, gentlemen, we should not be in a hurry to adopt any system other than our own at the present time, unless we are first convinced that that system is, at any rate, upon the border-land of perfection.

A great many people make a mistake between the metric system and the decimal system. Now, there is some connection, of course, between the two, but the relation is a very slight one. To give you an example: we have a decimal system of coinage in Canada and the United States, and that is frequently referred to by the metricists as a metric system. I must warn you it is no part of the metric system. If we take the metric system at all we must take it as a whole. Now, suppose we take our decimal system and apply the principles of the metric system to it. Then, if we take our dollar as a unit we would have to call our cent a cente-dollar, and if we take our cent as a unit we would have to call our dollar a hecto-cent. The metric system is not only *not* decimal, but it introduces a lot of names that we do not know. But not only that, it introduces confusion that we do not want in a system of weights and measures. I must say here that I cannot dwell upon this subject as long as I would like to, because I know that I cannot speak very long without my voice breaking down.

The metricists use a great number of arguments in support of their system. I would like to take up these arguments *seriatim,* one by one. If at any other time this question becomes important enough to you to have me appear before you again I will be quite willing to do so, and I hope I will be able to do so under more favourable circumstances. They argue in behalf of a union system of weights and measures throughout the world. We have no objection to that argument whatever. Of course, it is a sort of Utopian idea which I do not think we will ever get, but there is no doubt there would be advantages in having one uniform system of weights and measures throughout the world; but when they say that that system should be the metric system, then we part company with them. I do not believe it should be the metric system, because I believe we are capable of framing a better system than the metric system is. I believe that we have in our money system a better system than the metric system. Then they argue that there should be one universal system of weights and measures. I intend to show you we cannot have one universal system. It is impracticable, unless we want to have confusion in our weighing and measuring and counting. They say that the universal system should be decimal. I want to show you that a universal system cannot be decimal. I suppose that the most of you are aware that we have the decimal system as a matter of accident. Some of the original progenitors of the vertebrate animals happened to divide their extremities into five parts. We have come down from them, and our extremities are divided into five parts. That is the basis of our decimal system. But you will understand at once that that does not make the system perfect. Because we have five fingers does not make it perfect. I knew a man once who had six fingers on each hand. If we had all been born with six fingers we would have had a better system than we have to-day. Moreover, if we take all the even numbers below twenty there is only one of them that will give us a worse base than ten, and that is fourteen.

The value of a base depends upon the number of integral factors which it possesses. If we take two; of course we have one; if we take four, we have two; if we take six, we have two and three. Going on this way, if we take ten, we have only two and five. Every even number will give halves, that is two, but five is of little or no use. You never buy fifths of anything. If you do not want a bushel of potatoes you do not ask for one-fifth of a bushel, you ask for one-half or one-quarter. Two, of course, is the least value of all; four comes next; five is of little or no use. If you take twelve, on the other hand, you have two and three and four and six. See the advantage there. You can express one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and one-sixth. Now, these are the most important divisions that we can have. I have said enough to show you that the decimal system is far from being perfect. Then why do people advocate a decimal system? Well, for the obvious reason that our system of notation is decimal, and consequently arithmetical computations are more easily made in a decimal system than they are in a duo-decimal system, so that you see the reason why people want a decimal system. But I am going to show you now that, although a decimal system is convenient in these respects, we could not get along with the decimal system only. When we come to measure lengths, like a foot or yard or metre if you like; it is quite immaterial, if we had to start afresh from the beginning, what length we should take for our unit; we might take any length for the unit, provided we adhered to that unit. When we come to measure rotation, that is, angles, then it is a different matter. We are not at liberty to take any unit, because nature has furnished us with a natural unit.

Consider the hands of the clock, say the minute hand;

it starts from twelve and goes around back to the twelve; when it gets back to the twelve it has made one complete revolution. That is our natural angle in revolution, that is our unit, the complete rotation, or what we call a circum-angle. The framers of the metric system, that is, the French savants of the Revolution, should have divided this unit into ten parts. Why didn't they? Because they saw it was impossible to have any practical utility in such a division. Therefore, they divided it into four parts. But why four? Four has very little relation to ten. Because the right angle is the most important of all angles in practical work, and they must get the right angle in, and, therefore, they must divide it into four parts. They departed at once from the universality of a decimal system. They had to do it. What next? They divided the right angle into a hundred parts. That is known to-day as the French method of dividing the angle. Do you suppose anybody uses it? Nobody in the world. They themselves have dropped it, and why? Because the next most important angle to the right angle is the two-thirds of a right angle; that is, the angle of an equilateral triangle. Very well, now then we have our unit divided first into four parts, then we have to divide that into three, which gives us twelve at once. In the division of the circle we are not permitted to take an arbitrary unit, we have to take a duo-decimal system. By taking this duo-decimal system we put ninety degrees, in a right angle. That is not necessary, but ninety has come down to us from the most ancient times. Somebody says, "Well, if you have ninety, why cannot you take a hundred?" That person does not see the difference between a unit divisible by three and one that is not.

Every one who knows anything about arithmetic knows that it is impossible to express one-third by a decimal system, so that you see if we took a decimal system we could not possibly express the angle of a right-angled triangle. We would have to put down 33·333, and so on forever; the endless decimal. I think I have shown you now that a decimal system cannot be universal. What would you think, for instance, if you had to change all the dials on your clocks in this city, and your watches, so as to read ten hours instead of twelve. I know one man, a writer in Harvard University on the decimal system, who says that the time will come, it is not very far off, when we will count our angle and our time by the metric system by decimals. I do not believe such a time will ever come unless the people become crazy. Our time must be connected with our system of rotation, because time is measured out by the rotation of the earth, and, therefore, time and angle are practically one and the same thing, and whatever system measures one must measure the other. I was saying that this division of the right angle into ninety degrees is very ancient. It comes to us from the Babylonians. They were not such fools in those days as probably we think they were. They had a system by sixties instead of tens. Sixty would be better than ninety, or as good, at any rate, because it gives us the half, the quarter and the third. In some ways it would be better than ninety, so that the Babylonians in establishing this system had reasons for doing it, and the astronomer and the navigator and the geometer at the present day have very strong reasons for adhering to it, and I do not think you will ever get them to depart from it. This cry about a universal system, and that system decimal, is a vain cry that has no force in it. It never can be realized.

Let me go on to the nomenclature of the Metric system. You know what the nomenclature of our system is. We have an inch, a foot, a yard, a mile, a pole. All these, if you notice, are distinct words; they cannot be mistaken one for the other; they are short, direct, crisp; they are one syllable words; a man speaks them quickly, he writes them quickly, and they require only a few letters. Now you will say that is an advantage; it certainly is. Now let us take the metric system, and consider that. They start with a metre, here a word with two syllables. It takes about twice as long to say it as to say a foot or an inch. Then what next; they divide a metre into ten parts. They do not give another name to this division, but they keep that word metre, and add to it another two syllable word, a decimetre. I want to point out to you the defects in the metric system. We divide a foot into twelve parts; we call each part an inch; each of these are one-syllable words; we do not say a deci-inch, for instance. Why could they, in framing their system, if they have to take a metre, not use a one-syllable word? There is no reason why the tenth of the metre should be connected with the other, so as to make the name metre again. Why would not a man know what part of a metre this new unit is without naming it metre? They divide the decimetre into another ten parts and call it a centimetre; you see they retain the metre. They divide that again, and call it a millimetre. You will know that every one of these is a four-syllable word with nine or ten letters as compared with our words which are four or five letters at the outside, and one syllable. Then, if we go upwards, they take ten metres, how do they name that? They bring in this metre again, decametre. We do not say twelve inches makes a—what would you call it, a duo-deca-inch? We do not name the inch again, because we know the relation; that is all we want, and there is no necessity of giving it a name which has the metre brought in again.

They take ten decametres and call it a hectometre, and then ten hectometres and call it a kilometre. Their smallest measure is the millilitre; compared with the largest, a kilolitre, what is the difference in sound? One starts with " m " and the other with " k." It is very easy to mistake these in sound, and consequently it is very easy to go a million times out in the recognition of the word. I defy you to do that with the terms in the British system. I say this is a demerit. I do not mean to say that this cannot be rectified, but show me the metricist who is willing to rectify it. I have no doubt you can get some of them who will admit this is a defect in the system, but you ask them, " Will you rectify it?" No! they want to keep on to the old system established at the time of the French Revolution. They thought they were making a perfect scientific system. For words that are used in common life and used as commonly as the words which denote measures and weights, we should have the shortest, most concise, and distinctive words we can invent, and surely we can invent words enough to suit any purpose. If they would do that they would improve the metric system. They would make the system something like our money system. You see we have a dollar; we have a dime; we have a cent. There is no relation in the sound, and we do not connect cent with dime. We do not say a dime is a deca-cent, and we do not say that a cent is a deci-dollar, so that when he tells you that our money system is metric he is misleading you. It is decimal. That is the only relation it has with their system.

There is another thing that I might point out here. I think that the Metric system has too many of these little units tacked on—every ten. Whoever framed the system of money I do not know, but you know it started with a mill, and then a cent, and then a dime, and then a dollar. You never hear a mill spoken of now except in a tax-list or something of that sort. When a person wants to pay 35 cents for a thing, he does not give the price as three dimes and five cents, because it is too long to speak. Now, there is very little utility in having this term in at all, and consequently it has fallen into disuse. Our measures might be spoken of in something the same way. There is no use of having too many names, and the metric system itself would be improved if they would strike out some of these intermediate terms. The scientist does not say 7 decimetres, 6 centimetres, and 2 millimetres. He says 762 millimetres, because it is shorter. It is long enough as it is, but it is shorter than putting all these together. What does he want of these intermediate ones, then? I hold that there are too many of them. In several ways the metric system might be improved upon, and I would be very sorry to see these defects grafted upon the British-speaking people.

We have another argument which they advance, the time and labour and scientific research that has been expended upon getting the standard in Paris, at the Bureau des Longitude, which is called a metre, that is, a platinum and radium bar of certain length, with two marks upon it. These are just one metre apart, that is, a standard metre. I heard the gentleman who was explaining the Metric system to the people of this country, sent out by the Dominion Government,* expatiating for considerable time upon this bar, and the pains that were taken in getting this bar perfect, and how near they had got it to be the ten-millionth part of the distance from the equator to the pole, measuring along a meridian, and he pointed out that although it was not quite that, exactly, it was so near that any criticism on its error would be hypercritical. Well, that is all right enough, but why should they take the ten-millionth part of the distance from the equator to the pole? That is the question I would like to ask the savants if they were alive now. Suppose they could get the distance exactly. Are there any merits attached to that? If so, I do not know what they are. Besides, the ten-millionth part of the distance from the equator to the pole is not a fixed quantity. What is the consequence of this purely fanciful idea? Simply this; that they established a unit that is out of accord with every unit that has ever been used upon the face of the earth by any people. That is, it is incommensurate with every other unit, and you cannot express the length of the metre in any unit, in any system of units used by any people in the world that have not adopted the metre, except by means of decimals. Was there any utility in that?

If you want to express a length that you know well, for instance, a building, this room, the windows, or the size of the glass in that window, you express it by feet and inches. Every sash in the city, and every sash, I suppose, in Canada, is expressed in feet and inches. If you expressed these in metres they would have to be decimals, so many decimetres or millimetres. You cannot express it exactly in any of these cases. If the metre had been adapted to any unit, then we would have had a unit in the metric system which would have been commensurate with our own units now, so that I look upon this taking the ten-millionth part of the distance from the equator to the pole, this fanciful idea, and making it a unit of length, as a great mistake. It introduced confusion in all other systems, and if the metric system ever comes into use, you will find that all these other systems will be in confusion.

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* Prof. J. C. McLennan, of Toronto University.—EDITOR.

Now, have we anything in the British system that we do not want to be in confusion? If you take the deed of any lot of land in this city, or in this country, you will see that it is made out in British units. The whole survey of the United Kingdom and the United States is made out in British units. How would you like to have these units changed so that you would have to express them by decimals—and you could not express them by full units. The metre is incommensurate with every other unit. I do not know what you may think about adopting a unit of this kind, but I know that I would be very unwilling to see a unit of this kind adopted by the English-speaking nations of the world, unless it comes to this, that they cannot get any better. The metre is not very far from the yard. It is only a little over three inches longer than a yard, but ask the metricist to change his system to the yard. He will say "No. The metre now has been worked into the whole of science," and you would think to hear him talk that the metric system is necessary to science. Science does not depend upon the metric system or any other system of weights and measures. It was worked out in Britain long before the metric system was thought of. The old-time British scientists did not use the metric system. That is a false cry, when they say that science cannot be worked on any other system. Of course, the scientific man has adopted the metric system as his system, but then science, although it is very important in the world, is not everything in the world. The scientific men themselves make up but a small community in the nation, and it is a question whether the system they saw fit to adopt should be made the system for the whole people or whether it should not; whether it would be less confusion for them to take some other system that is commensurate with the British unit, or for the whole mass of the people to adopt their unit, which is incommensurable with the British unit. It is a question which would lead to the least confusion. I am of the opinion that the least confusion would be for the scientist to adopt the British unit.

We are told, also, that the metric system is so widely distributed now, used by so many people, that it must become universal. I would stake my reputation upon this, that if Great Britain, the United States and Russia (these are the three principal nations now using the British unit, although it is used in other countries), should adopt a unit commensurable with some other unit now used and make it as perfect as it can be made, and use that, it would prevail throughout the world before a hundred years went by. I am sure of that. We are told again that the various units in the Metric system are simply connected together; that is another of their arguments. Thus we get from the metre the unit of length. If a square be taken with a metre on each side and we make a box, we get a certain amount of capacity. If we fill it with water we get another unit. But let us see what a strictly scientific system should be. It should be this, I think. If we take a unit of length, and then a square formed from that unit, it should be the unit of area, and the cube formed upon that unit of length should be the unit of volume, and that open cubic box should be the unit of capacity for measuring liquids, and when filled with water should be the unit of weight. I think a scientific system should have these. You see at once that we should keep the unit right along through. Does the metric system do that? No, it does not. I do not know why the original framers did not do it, except that they did not wish to depart too far. They knew there would be much opposition. They do not take and form a cubic box of a metre in order to get the unit of capacity, but they go down to the decimetre and take that as a new unit to form their box. That is the unit of capacity; they call it a litre, a two-syllable word again. Then they divide that up again into their decimetre, centimetre, millilitre, decalitre, hectolitre, and a kilolitre. You see, they do not take their unit of length, the metre, to give us the unit of capacity. They tell us, however, that they are simply connected. They do not take the unit of capacity to get the unit of weight. They go down to the hundredth part of the metre. They make a gramme, using three different units, that is not a simple connection by any means. When they get the gramme then they have decigramme, centigramme, milligramme, decagramme, hectogramme, and kilogramme. In these two names all through they differ by a million, yet there is in each only a slight difference in letters.

Now I should say, if I have defined a scientific system properly, that the Metric system is not scientific. Of course, they could get over this difficulty if they would drop these names "decimetre" and "millimetre" altogether, and use other terms, new words altogether, having no relation to metre; each of these, then, would be a unit. They could take any unit they like, but as it stands at present I do not think it is any easier for a boy to learn the relations in this system than it is for him to know that a gallon of water weighs 70,000 grains. I do not mean to say that the British system could not be improved upon, I would be sorry to say that. We have too many units, but the British system was not a system worked out by savants of any kind; it is a system that has grown up among the common people, and even to-day if you go amongst the common people in this country you will hear names of weights and measures you are not accustomed to. This is especially the case in England. There is one man who makes a strong objection to the British system on this point, and uses it to make the most of his argument, that they use such terms as arm's-length, hand, finger's-length, etc. People will always use them. They measure horses by hands, cloth by arm's-length, and you will even see women measuring things by finger's-length. But what is the reason?

They carry those units with them, and you cannot blame them for measuring with them. That does not mean any defect in the British system at all. You will find it in France and Germany, where they are supposed to have a scientific system.

They give us an absurd argument, an extremely absurd argument, about the time that is lost by children in learning the British system of weights and measures; for instance, in learning that twelve inches make a foot, and in working this duo-decimal system. There is some loss of time, no doubt, but let us consider. When is the time most important to a person? To a boy going to school, or a man doing business? I think none of you would be long in making an answer to that. It certainly is to the man doing business. If a man has to use these long four-syllable words in speaking and writing instead of one-syllable names with four or five letters, is he not going to lose more time in a life-time of business than a boy could possibly lose at school? That is a question they never bring up. It takes you a long time to say millilitre, hectolitre, etc., not to say inch, foot, yard; besides, these men think that the education in the school is for nothing more than for what you can get out of it for the practical part it plays in life. Education should be to train the mind, teach the mind, and to exercise it. If it does not do that it is no education at all. Many a man goes into business, a little boy off the streets, knows enough to read and write, scarcely that; he learns that in practice afterwards. He grows up into his business, makes a good practical man, but he is not educated, has never been taught to think any further than his business has made him think.

Now, we who are educators, and I think all arithmeticians will agree with me, hold that a man cannot know one system of notation properly unless he knows more than one, so that the learning of some other system of notation than the decimal system is a valuable arithmetical exercise, and every boy should be trained into it, whether he has to use it afterwards or not. You know, it is a common saying among classicists that a man cannot know one language unless he knows some other language, and it is the same with systems of notation, so that this cry and argument about the immense amount of time lost by a scholar in school mastering the British system is a cry without any force in it. We are told, again, that the introduction of the metric system would be an easy matter; the people would gradually fall into it. I do not know what you think about it, but the people of no country in the world have yet fallen into it. They have to use it in some countries in legal documents, but that is a different thing from using it in the common purposes of life. Right in the heart of France, you will hear a great number of names that do not belong to the metric system, and although it is illegal to buy or sell in them, there is a lot of buying and selling takes place among neighbours without using the metric system. The same would take place in British-speaking countries, because the British-speaking communities are so extended, they reach all round the world, and the British weights and measures would persist throughout this century, if not longer. It is not easy to change any system that has got once ingrained into the structure of the people, and that is the case with the British system. I am not arguing that the British system is perfect, or anything of the kind, but I would take the British system with its present imperfections, rather than take the metric system with its imperfections. If the metric system were made as perfect as it is possible to make it by making these changes which I have pointed out, then I do not know what position I would take. I might change my position altogether, but whatever system is adopted, we must insist upon this, that it shall not be universal for all kinds of measurements, for, as I said, it is not practical for all kinds of measurements, and we must be allowed a duo-decimal system, or some system which gives a means of dividing a unit into threes, which the decimal system will not give.

It seems to me that if any system could be made universal, it would be the money system of the different countries. The amount of money which is exchanged from one country to another, and the amount of travel that goes on from one country to another, would seem to render it not only desirable, but likely, that the money systems of different countries would be unified. Any of you that have travelled know that that is not the case, and you know if you go into any country that may have a decimal system of money they do not have a metric system, and there is no such thing as a metric system of money. The system of France, although it is a decimal, is quite different from ours. you see they take the hundred centimes for a franc. Then go into Germany; their money system is not metric, and yet it is different from our decimal system. If they cannot unify the money system of countries, that system which probably touches more people in the country than any other, how are they going to unify the system of weights and measures? I do not see the possibility of doing it. It is now for the English-speaking people, in a very little while, to say whether they will sink their individuality into the Metric system, into the system which has been in vogue, or supposed to have been in vogue, so long in France, or whether they will adhere to the present system and allow it to grow into a better one. From my own point of view I would rather see them adhere to their present system than to take a system with the many imperfections that at present surround the metric system.

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